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EAST INDIA (CABUL AND AFFGHANISTAN).

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 13 July 1858;—for,

COPIES “of the CORRESPONDENCE of Sir Alexander Burnes with the Governor General of *India*, during his Mission to *Cabul*, in the Years 1837 and 1838, or such part thereof as has not already been Published:”

“And, of the CORRESPONDENCE of the Governor General of *India* with the President of the Board of Control and with the Secret Committee of the East India Company, from the 1st day of September 1837 to the 1st day of October 1839, relative to the Expedition to *Affghanistan*, or of such part thereof as has not been already Published.”

Note.—The Correspondence only partially given in former Returns is here given entire, the omitted passages being marked by brackets [].

India Office, }
24 March 1859.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary in Political and Secret Departments.

(*Mr. Hadfield.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
8 June 1859.

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CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO

CORRESPONDENCE between Captain *Burnes* and the Governor General,
during the Years 1837 and 1838.

Captain *Burnes* to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

1. I HAVE the honour to report for the information of the Governor General in Council, our arrival at this great emporium of trade, having been detained for 16 days at Khyrpore by Meer Roostum Khan, who received us in the most friendly manner, sending a deputation to his frontier to meet us, a second deputation as we advanced, and his Vizier, Futteli Mahomed Khan Goree, to the banks of the Indus, 22 miles distant, who accompanied us to Khyrpore.

2. On the 10th we waited on his Highness Meer Roostum Khan, and were received in a manner which I have never seen in Sindh, since the Ameer left his couch, came forward and embraced us, declaring that he looked to the British Government as his surest and best friend, and that there was no point which he would not concede to meet its wishes in my present deputation. In the forenoon he sent his own son, and the son of his brother Meer Moobaruk Khan, to return our visit.

3. It would be doing injustice to the Chief of Khyrpore to deny to him the credit of attachment to the British Government by the manner in which he thus received us; but it was soon apparent that he and his advisers had taken alarm at what had passed at Hyderabad, and as I could not be correctly informed of the nature of the communications which his Highness Noor Mahomed Khan had made to the Khyrpore Chief, I found myself in a situation of really an embarrassing nature, as I had either to give ear to overtures which I knew the British Government would not accept, or divulge the whole scope of Colonel Pottinger's negotiations in reply to them.

4. On the forenoon of the 19th, the Ameer sent for me privately. I found him alone with his minister, Futteli Mahomed Khan Goree; he set out by saying that he considered himself the servant (damungur) of the British Government; that he had heard with sincere pleasure that an agent of the Government was to reside at Shikarpore, as it would bring friendly persons to his door, but that he hoped the British would enter into a new treaty with him as they had done at Hyderabad; that the kings of Cabool had always acknowledged him and his father as a distinct power in Sindh; that he had acceded to the treaty for opening the River Indus on the same terms as the Hyderabad family, and now hoped that the same consideration would be shown to him in the altered state of the relations between the two countries.

5. I replied to his Highness that I had come to Khyrpore by desire of the Governor General to renew the friendly intercourse which subsisted, and to explain fully the objects of my journey; that I was not authorised to enter into separate negotiations, and indeed, where such friendship already existed, it appeared unnecessary to seek to strengthen it by other treaties; that further, the British had long been satisfied of his Highness' friendly feelings, but it would have been defeating the great ends which it had in view, of opening the Indus to the merchant, if it had sown dissensions between one family of the Talpoors and another; that our relations at Hyderabad now made us as sure of co-operation there as we were at Khyrpore, and the best proof which his Highness could give of his good disposition towards us, would be to join with the Hyderabad family, and particularly seek to curb the lawless tribes of Muzarees, Boogtees, and others who sought to molest the navigation of the Indus.

6. Meer Roostum Khan, assisted by his minister, replied that the British Government would experience no opposition from Khyrpore; that three-sevenths
of

of Shikarpore belonged to the Khyrpore family ; that though he was yet ignorant how his portion of the revenues of it were to be paid for the expenses of the British agent, he would make no objection on that head, and indeed if it were considered desirable to station an agent at Bukkur, he readily assented ; and that, as to the Muzarees, they were entirely at his command, for the Chief Behram Khan was now at Khyrpore, that he would send him to me* if I liked, take hostages from him, and confine the most turbulent of the tribe as prisoners in Bukkur ; and in doing all this, his Highness only hoped to be considered what he really was, the friend of the Hyderabad Ameers, though independent of them. I could but reiterate my former observations, and finished by adding, that we had avoided with studious care all mixing up of the name of the British Government in the family differences at Hyderabad, and I hoped his Highness would see the propriety of our conduct in following the same course at Khyrpore.

7. I was for some time disposed to treat the declarations of Meer Roostum Khan with reference to the Muzarees in the light of a promise which it would be difficult to fulfil ; but his Highness was as good as his word, and sent Behram Khan, the Chief of the tribe, to wait upon me, with about 60 of his followers ; he fell at my feet, and said he was the servant of the Ameers of Sinde, and would become the slave of the British Government. I found Behram Khan to be a very intellectual man, and to bear a good character among his tribe ; and as he is the undoubted Chief of it, it would have been a very simple matter to adjust affairs as far as he was concerned. The Amcer sent his minister to say that he would be answerable along with Meer Noor Mahomed Khan for the good conduct of Behram Khan and his tribe on the plains and hills, and even for Bibruck Boogtee, the most notorious freebooter, only excepting those who had gone over to the Seiks. I replied, that all this would be very acceptable, but I must strenuously urge on Meer Roostum Khan his acting in concert with Meer Noor Mahomed Khan, in a matter to which the British Government attached importance, which the Vizier said was now being done by Meer Moobaruk Khan, who, as I was aware, had gone to Hyderabad to be present at the marriage of the son of Meer Sobdar.

8. Private letters which I have received from Captain Wade have informed me of the delicate nature of the adjustment of this matter with Maharajah Runjeet Singh, and I am yet unacquainted with the steps which Noor Mahomed Khan has taken to fulfil that part of his agreement which makes him answerable for the Muzarees, so that I have been bound to avoid all interference in this matter beyond general expressions to the Chief of Khyrpore and the Muzaree Chief himself, of our determination not to permit the excesses of the Muzarees or any one to interrupt our commerce. If reliance, however, is to be placed on native reports, I have perused a paper from the Khyrpore Vakeel at Bhawal Khan's Court stating that on our arrival at Mittuncote, Runjeet Singh will withdraw his troops from Rozan ; and in such an event, I cannot but anticipate a happy and final adjustment of the Muzaree question, since it will be as satisfactory to the Ameers as to the Muzarees, and be to these lawless men a substantial proof of the power and the generosity of the British Government.

9. With regard to these plunderers by profession I may observe that, like all such tribes, they will be easily managed by conciliation ; and that when the British Agent is fixed here, a familiar and friendly intercourse will, in all probability, grow up between them and the officer. They have honour like other thieves, and they declare that if Monsieur Ventura had continued on the frontier of the Maharajah's country, differences would never have taken place ; that that officer treated them liberally, but that Sawan Mull, the Governor of Mooltan, sowed dissensions among them ; and, to use their own words, treated them as a petty trader seeking for profit, instead of the deputy of a powerful prince like Runjeet Singh.

10. On the 26th of March the Chief of Khyrpore renewed his endeavours to persuade me to enter into separate negotiations. His Highness sent for me to hold a private interview as the message stated ; but on my arrival I found Meer Roostum Khan with his eldest son, and the eldest son of Meer Moobaruk ; also Meer Ali Moorad Khan, his brother, who possesses nearly all the treasure of the Khyrpore family. After a few complimentary observations, Meer Roostum Khan withdrew, saying that his son and family would converse with me on matters of

importance. The room was then cleared, and I found myself along with the persons who were chiefly interested in the late treaty at Hyderabad, the Vuzeer of Meer Roostum Khan remaining. The party set out by stating that it was a worldly maxim to look after one's own interests; that the intelligence from Hyderabad was such that they had one and all joined hand in hand together, and here the three Ameers joining their hands together, clasped mine, and said they were one, and wished to enter into an alliance of the most lasting nature with the British Government, declaring that they were more entitled to it from the early anxiety which they had exhibited to cultivate a close connexion with the British than their relatives at Hyderabad.

11. I replied that there was no necessity for a treaty of friendship other than that which had already been made, for the British Government had built on the cordiality with which its designs would be seconded in Upper Sind. Ali Morad Khan, who is a very intelligent man, and who is now reconciled to Meer Roostum Khan, asked if there would be any interference in the internal government of Sind, or in the family quarrels which might arise, and I replied, that in our treaties with Runjeet Singh and Bhawal Khan we had expressly agreed not to interfere in that manner, and the Ameers of Sind might rest assured that our object was to promote commerce by the Indus. The whole family then expressed in the most earnest manner its anxiety for a new treaty, and it was not till I reiterated my opinion as to its inutility, and as to my wanting powers to make it, that the subject was dropped.

12. I took this opportunity to run over the history of our connexion with Sind, again stating that it was the aim of the British Government to allay jealousies, not to excite them, for there were Talpoors at Hyderabad as well as at Khyrpore; and it was this which had led to the rejection of the overtures made by the Khyrpore Chief in December 1835, and that it was my duty to counsel them to join heart and hand, and aid their brethren at Hyderabad, for the house of Talpoor owed much of its greatness to the unanimity that had ever subsisted between its different members; and if it was their wish really to gratify the British Government, they would now seek to preserve unimpaired that good understanding. If I did not satisfy the family that it was unnecessary to exchange writings, I believe I left them not displeased.

13. On the following morning Futteh Mahomed Khan waited upon me to renew the subject of yesterday, when I gave him clearly to understand that the Chief of Khyrpore had lost the opportunity of making any other treaty than what he now has when Colonel Pottinger was accredited to his Highness in 1832, and that he must be satisfied with having any treaty, which was more than had been conceded to the Meerpoor Chief; and that the best policy of the Ameers, and that of his successors, would be to act in concert with the Hyderabad family. I have found it extremely perplexing to deal with this question; the Khyrpore Chief does not admit the supremacy of the Hyderabad Ameers, and yet he and his family are quite ready to second them in everything that is wished by the British Government. There cannot be a doubt that the superior power of the Hyderabad family may force the Khyrpore Chiefs to submit to any terms they may dictate, but it will not certainly tend to promote the British interests on the Indus if such cordial friends as the Khyrpore family are offended by any novel or unusual interference on the part of his Highness, Noor Mahomed Khan.

14. On the 29th of March we had our audience of leave with Meer Roostum Khan, who renewed his profession of devotion and submission to the British Government. His Highness and his family sent presents to myself and the gentlemen along with me, and his Vizier accompanied us to Roree. In the afternoon of the 31st we crossed, with the Ameer's permission and in company of his Vizier, to Bukkur, and examined that remarkable fortress, being the first Europeans who have ever been permitted to enter it. The Vizier took this singular time to renew the expression of his master's hopes for a new treaty of friendship, and I could only silence him by pointing to the spot on which I stood, and asking him if anything further was necessary to proclaim, far and near, the good understanding between Meer Roostum Khan and the British Government than that the gates of Bukkur had been thrown open to four English gentlemen. We took leave of the minister at the door of the fortress with great expressions of his master's and his own submission, and immediately crossed the Indus to Sukkur.

15. We

15. We have since prosecuted our journey to Shikarpore, which we entered this morning, being conducted through the great bazaar by a mihmandar from Hyderabad and another from Khyrpore, receiving likewise immediately after our arrival a visit from the governor of the town. Our boats have proceeded up the river, and we shall join them after our inquiries at this important mart are completed, and I hope may reach Mittuncote by the 1st of May.

Shikarpore, 2 April 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to Government, Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to notice various circumstances which have transpired at this commercial mart, regarding the debts due here and in Afghanistan by my late fellow traveller Dr. Gerard, and to which, with a view to uphold our national reputation, it is incumbent on me to draw the early attention of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

2. After Dr. Gerard separated from me at Meshid to return to India, it is well known to Government that he was detained for a considerable time as well by continued indisposition as the severity of the climate, and that during this interval he was subjected to great and unlooked-for expenses, and, as his resources could not meet these, he raised money in the different towns he passed, which the merchants at once advanced on a perusal of the passport which Dr. Gerard held under the seal and signature of Lord William Bentinck.

3. It is of course not in my power to inform the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council of the precise manner in which the sums so raised were disbursed, but a very fair means of judging may be formed, when I state that Dr. Gerard had to reward the servants of the chiefs for their civilities, to give presents to *cafila* bashces, and to guides, and, as Moonshee Mohun Lall tells me, that he gave presents to the Chiefs themselves, it is easily seen how the expenditure was incurred, however unauthorised by the instructions given to me by the Supreme Government in the first instance, or by me to Dr. Gerard.

4. Various individuals who have kept up a correspondence with me since I was in Cabool had addressed me on the subject of Dr. Gerard's debts, but it was not till I reached Shikarpore that I was brought in direct contact with the parties concerned, and as they know no difference between the word of an officer, a servant of the British Government, and the British Government itself, they claimed of me the sums due, which, at this place, are two in number, one to Moollah Julall, amounting to 1,912 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, and another to Mahomed Sadik of 394 rupees, making 2,306 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees. The total amount due in Dera Ghazee Khan, Peshawur, Herat, Cabool and Candahar, including these sums, amounts to *Rs.* 7,188. 2.

5. I have no resource, therefore, left to me but to pay the debts due at this place, on my own responsibility, and respectfully submit the matter to the consideration of Government, trusting that, in its liberality, it will authorise me to discharge the whole of them to the amount above stated. An ignorant Afghan can draw no distinction between an official and unofficial authority; the sanctity of our word has become as current as a proverb among them, and in this particular instance, so confident were these men, that they refused to accept bonds, saying, that the sight of the Governor General's passport and the word of Dr. Gerard were sufficient.

6. I annex copies of the receipts for the money which I have paid, and a list of all the debts, which I have drawn up with as much care as I could bestow; a subject which has the double interest of preserving the name of the Government and the character of an officer, who was ever ready to devote himself to its interests.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

Shikarpore, 7 April 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

List of Dr. Gerard's Debts.

	Rs.	a.
Balance of 1,260 ducats borrowed at Kandahar of Moollah Julall, and Das-samul Shikapore, 360 ducats	1,912	2
Mahomed Sadik, of Herat, servant to Dr. Gerard, his pay	394	-
Moollah Nujub, of Peshawar	800	-
Mollah Ruheem Shah, of Cabool	327	-
Abdool Ali, of Cabool, now at Loodianah	500	-
Oodoodass Shikaporee at Deree Ghazee Khan, who has paid the debt of Ali Uskur, at Herat	580	-
Agha Oosman, of Herat, whose creditors are Shaw, Nath and Hursook, bankers, at Delhi	2,025	-
Borrowed of Maheedass to pay Dr. Gerard's servants	250	-
Moollah Kurreem, of Kandahar	400	-
TOTAL	7,188	2

TOTAL - - - Surat Rs. 7,188 2

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to enclose an original letter which I have had the honour to receive from Amcer Dost Mahomed Khan of Cabool, a translation of which I likewise annex, and beg that you will do me the favour of submitting the same to the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

2. The letter bears no date, but I venture to believe that the cordial satisfaction which this Chief evinces at the deputation of an agent on the part of the British Government to Cabool, will prove very satisfactory to his Lordship in Council.

On the Southern Frontier of
Bhawul Khan's Country,
18 April 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to report for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that we reached the Daoodpootra country on the 18th instant, and were received with a most cordial welcome by the officers of Bhawul Khan on his frontier, where boats had been collected for our use for three months past.

2. The mihmandar appointed by the Khan conveyed a message expressive of his great anxiety that we should visit him, and if it were not agreeable, that he would repair in person to the banks of the Chenab at Ooch to receive us; but deeming this to be quite uncalled for, I at once accepted the invitation, and am now proceeding to Ahmedpore, which is about 35 coss from the Indus. This will also afford an opportunity of materially increasing our commercial information.

3. As circumstances have hitherto prevented Captain Wade from dropping down to Mittuncote, I shall not make any longer stay in this part of the country than to receive an answer to the accompanying copy of a letter which I have the honour to annex, and which I have transmitted to him express. Meanwhile, the important marts of Bahwulpoor and Dera Ghazee Khan are engaging attention.

Camp in Bhawul Khan's Country,
25 April 1837.

I have, &c.,
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

To Captain *C. M. Wade*, Political Agent, &c., Loodiana.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to notify, for your information, that I have reached Bhawul Khan's country, and now await the arrival of yourself and Lieutenant Mackeson, to enter upon the subjects pointed out in the instructions of the Supreme Government regarding the selection on the spot of a place for an entrepôt of the Indus trade.

2. Concluding that the visit of his Excellency the Commander in Chief and other matters might detain you for some time, we have accepted a very pressing invitation from Bhawul Khan, delivered to us on his frontier, that all our party should visit him at Ahmedpore, since it will give me time to hear from you, and an opportunity of thanking this chief in person for his civilities, which have been unbounded, and also of adding materially to our commercial information.

3. If any unforeseen circumstance prevents my having the pleasure of meeting you, I shall feel obliged by your informing me if you have received any instructions from Calcutta in supersession of those issued on the 5th of September last, that I may be prepared to give such explanations as are necessary to all the parties concerned.

4. In pursuance of those instructions, I have notified to all the chiefs and merchants on the Indus up to this point that such a meeting was to take place at Mittunkote; and as it has naturally excited the greatest interest at Shikarpore and other parts, and been to them a solid proof that the British Government has in earnest taken up the subject of the Indus trade, it is of the first importance to keep our faith and word on this point; since I cannot but anticipate the most beneficial results to all parties, and to the commerce of the Indus in general, from such a meeting.

5. I have forwarded a copy of this letter for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*.

Camp in Bhawul Khan's Country,
25 April 1837.

From the Secretary to the Government of India to Captain *Burnes*.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Governor General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your three letters, dated 2d, 3d, and 7th April 1837.

2. The Governor General in Council has derived much gratification from perusing the account you have furnished of the highly flattering manner in which you were received by Meer Roostum Khan. It must always be the anxious desire of the British Government to conciliate that Ameer, and undoubtedly he should be rendered a party to any arrangements that may be entered into involving any material change of relations between the British and the Sind Governments, and in the event of the ratification of the proposed engagements, the occasional resort of the British agent to Bukkur might be directed, and would probably meet his views. The apprehension under which he appears to have been labouring at the period of your visit seems to have originated in the belief that a treaty, from the benefits of which he was excluded, had been actually executed with Noor Mahomed Khan providing for the residence of a British agent at Shikarpore; but for this, as you will have been already informed, there was no foundation.

3. You will of course furnish me at your earliest convenience with the intelligence which may be brought to you by the messenger whom you have sent to Candahar, to ascertain the state of affairs in that quarter. The rumours which have reached you correspond in some measure with the authentic intelligence recently transmitted to you by the Envoy in Persia, the heads of which have been furnished to the Governor General in Council by Colonel Pottinger.

4. With reference to your letter of the third mentioned date, I am desired to acquaint you that his Lordship in Council, while he thinks it necessary to guard against the too easy admission of a very objectionable precedent, will not in this case absolutely prohibit the very cautious exercise of your discretion. For the sum you have already delivered at Shikarpoor, namely, *Rs. 1,912. 2.*, you are authorised to charge in a contingent bill; but it is impossible to admit indiscriminately claims upon the British Government wholly unsupported by any voucher. Among the list of sums due as given by you, his Lordship in Council observes a claim of 800 rupees on account of Mullah Nujeeb of Peshawur. But the validity of this claim at least seems very doubtful, as you will observe from the accompanying copy of a letter to Captain Wade, dated 23d May last, that he was then authorised to pay to the same individual the sum of 1,000 rupees; and it is impossible that all mention of the claim now preferred should at that time have been suppressed, if it in reality existed. This single case will sufficiently mark to you the necessity of admitting no claim against Dr. Gerard, except upon full inquiry and the clearest conviction as well of its validity as of its not having been subsequently paid; and, whilst the Governor General in Council acknowledges the importance of sustaining the high opinion, said to exist in these countries, of British honour and good faith, he would guard against the abuses which would assuredly be the consequence of a ready adoption of debts loosely incurred, and the admission of claims lightly asserted.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten.*

Fort William, 22 May 1837.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 25th ultimo, reporting your arrival in the Daoodpootra country, and of your having accepted a pressing invitation to visit Nawab Bhawul Khan, annexing copy of a letter to Captain Wade, regarding the meeting at Mittunkote, and expressing a hope that no unforeseen circumstances will prevent it.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General in Council entirely approves your acceptance of the Nawab's invitation. You will have learned that Captain Wade will unfortunately be prevented from meeting you at Mittunkote; but the Governor General in Council trusts, that the object to be accomplished at that place will be satisfactorily attained, notwithstanding the unavoidable absence of that officer.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William, 29 May 1837.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 18th April, forwarding a letter, with translation, from the Chief of Cabool, expressive of his great satisfaction at receiving an agent deputed by the British Government, and to state that the expressions of cordiality with which it abounds are very gratifying both as regards yourself individually, and the feelings by which the Ameer is animated towards the British Government.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William, 5 June 1837.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

IN my communication of the 1st instant, from Dera Ghazee Khan, I reported that it was my intention to prosecute my voyage without delay to Attok. I had already reached Leia, about half way to Dera Ismael Khan, when I received your demi-official note of the 14th ultimo, directing me to await at Mittuncote the arrival of instructions which would be despatched in a day or two.

2. As I am yet distant from the scene of operations in Peshawur, I shall now await the orders of Government at Dera Ismael Khan, under the good and ostensible plea of inquiring into the extensive commerce carried on by the Lohance Afghans, from that mart to Cabool, and I shall thus be close at hand, without being amongst the Afghans, or in a situation of embarrassment.

3. I have not thought it necessary to forward any reports on the late affair at Peshawur, since Captain Wade will have kept Government fully apprised of them. The Afghans having retired into the Pass of Khyber, virtually puts an end to the campaign, since that defile is impervious; and Dost Mahomed Khan, from what I hear, is too much satisfied with the moral influence of his late success to injure it by pushing matters further; such at least is my information, and such my impression.

4. On receiving your letter of the 10th of April, enclosing a copy of a Despatch to His Majesty's Minister in Persia, and finding myself partly in possession of the views of the Governor General in Council, regarding the policy to be pursued in Afghanistan, I lost no time in replying to Dost Mahomed Khan's unanswered communications then by me, and I now enclose translation of the Ameer's letters, and my reply.

5. It will be seen that I took no notice of the separate enclosure regarding the contemplated attack on the Seiks, for I had not at that time received positive confirmation of the conflict, and I deemed it more consistent with my instructions to answer that document by recurring to the commercial objects which had been committed to me.

6. To the Seiks in attendance with me since the affair at Peshawur has transpired, I have expressed the sincerest regret at the existing differences; and when I have occasion to address Dost Mahomed Khan, I shall hold the same language.

On the Indus near Leia,
8 June 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Meer Dost Mahomed Khan, of Cabool, to Captain *Burnes*, despatched about the 20th of April 1837, but without date.

A. C.,

YOUR friendly letter, dated from Hyderabad, in Sindh, reached me in a happy moment. It made me very glad, as it contained the cheerful tidings of your health: I fully understood all its contents.

The letters which I usually received from the Supreme Government informed me that it was intended to appoint one of its officers to sow the seeds of friendship in this country, and a letter from Captain Wade intimated to me that you have been deputed to this quarter.

As I am desirous of your agreeable society, I learned this intelligence with the greatest pleasure, and it was increased much when I heard from yourself. My house is your house, and if it pleases God, we shall soon know the secret wishes of each other.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a separate Letter from Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, enclosed in the preceding.

A. C.,

I BEG to let you know that I had and have a great desire to make friendship with the British Government, and to drive the Sikhs from Peshawur, through the advice of that Government.

1—Sess. 2.

B

In

In these days, Sirdar Hâree Singh, Sadh Singh, the brother of Jamadar Khooshial Singh, Lehna Singh (who have succeeded Sher Singh and Tej Singh in Peshawur), though unable to keep Peshawur itself quiet, came and laid the foundations of a fort in Jamrod, near Khyber. This place belongs to the Afghans of Khyber, who are my subjects, consequently they complained to my son, Sirdar Mahomed Akbar Khan, who, with my permission, appointed some artillery and cavalry to protect those people, and also to level to the ground that new-built fort of the Sikhs.

A month or 40 days since an affair occurred in the vicinity of Peshawur, in which 300 men and 100 horses from the army of Sirdar Hâree Singh and the other Sirdars were killed and wounded. I imagine these Sirdars now repent having erected this fort.

I think that my son, who has not yet received full orders from me to wage war, will fight and wrest the place from the hands of the Sikhs. If you take trouble, and come quickly, to let me know the objects of the British Government, it will be well.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

To the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, from Captain *Burnes*, dated Dera Ghazee Khan,
2 June 1837.

A. C.,

I HAVE been highly gratified with the receipt of two letters from you; one of these went to Cutch Bhooj, which prevented its being answered, for be assured I am too sensible of your friendly feelings to the Government I serve to delay replying to such a letter, were I not farther gratified at the personal satisfaction which you are pleased to express at my deputation to Cabool.* Believe me, I feel sensible of your former attentions to me, and that the ("murhumut") condescension of the Governor General (*Farmân farnâ i Hindûstân*) in sending me to converse with one so disposed as you are, is very great.

As the business of Government, however, has reference to opening the Indus and making it a safe route for the merchant and trader, I have been long delayed in this quarter by the talpoors of Sindé and by Bhawal Khan, and you well know that in the country and house of friends so faithful as these, one comes according to inclination (*iwadut*) and goes by permission (*ijazut*); but I have now no courts to detain me, and I am this day setting out on my voyage to Attok, and shall make all speed to reach Cabool, and to explain in person to you the objects of the Governor General. From Kala Bagh I shall again address you, and I need not say more than that I hope the time may be short which shall withdraw from my eyes the curtain which hides the Bala Hissar of Cabool.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

To Captain *Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

WITH reference to my letter to your address of the 22d May last, I am directed to acquaint you that an error has been discovered in the 4th paragraph, the sum which you are authorised to charge in a contingent bill having been erroneously entered as Rs. 1,912. 2., instead of the sum of Rs. 2,306. 2., which is the correct amount.

I have, &c.

Fort William, 3 July 1837.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

* The letter here alluded to was forwarded on the 18th of April.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that we reached Kala Bagh on the 16th instant, which is within one degree of latitude from Attok. The downward communication by the Indus was open, and several boats arrived while we were at Kala Bagh, but as it was the height of the swell, it was more prudent to allow Lieutenant Wood singly to examine this portion of the river. That officer has already passed Muckud, about one-third of the way up, but it will be difficult, I imagine, at this season to reach Attok.

2. The vicinity of Kala Bagh to Peshawur, by way of Cohat and the right bank of the Indus, rendered me anxious to proceed at once to that city, but so limited is the power of the Sikhs in this quarter, that they could not ensure us protection. I might have addressed Kour Kurruck Sing at Peshawur to send an escort to meet us, but I found that that personage could only assist us, if at all, through Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and for many reasons it was proper to decline such aid. Besides, this road has already been travelled by Mr. Elphinstone's mission.

3. It only remained, therefore that we should advance on Attok by the left bank, and we quitted Kala Bagh in prosecution of our journey on the 22d. Here also the power of the Sikhs is so limited that we are following a route 60 miles longer than the direct road, as the Maharajah has no authority over the people immediately on the river. The best test of this being correct is our having met Raja Soojet Sing, with a force of from 8,000 to 10,000 men and 18 guns, proceeding by this route to Kala Bagh. We received a visit from the Raja, and he proffered and gave us every assistance, but the escort could not be prevailed on to take the direct route to Attok, and we are following that by Hassan Abdal.

4. The object of this force is to compel the Eesa Khyl Chief, who holds the right bank of the Indus below Kala Bagh for about 40 miles, to pay his tribute; and the troops after this service, it is said, are ultimately destined for Bunnoo. It is very apparent that the late affair between the Afghans and Sikhs at Peshawur has had a prejudicial effect on Sikh influence in this quarter. The population speak out plainly; it seems very probable that the presence of this force under Soojet Sing is simply meant to keep under this bad feeling, and certainly a smaller body of men would find their position at present but precarious in this part of the country.

5. It will be interesting briefly to state the exact authority of the Maharaja west of the Indus. It may be said that he has no power whatever beyond the plain country being unable to exact tribute, without an armed force, from any other part of it. The Derajat is under complete subjection to him, but from a great breach of faith in his resumption of Dera Ismael Khan last year, the people there are heartily disaffected. Thirty miles north of Dera Ismael commences the Eesa Khyl territories, which are strong and mountainous. The chief is now in rebellion; he will agree to pay tribute as far as 36,000 rupees, but not to receive a detachment of Sikhs, the party last year left in his country having been murdered. Murwut, west of Eesa Khyl, is also in rebellion. From Tak, a more certain but varied tribute is levied. From Bunnoo nothing is procurable but by the presence of an army, and north of it, to the plain of Peshawur, the country is entirely independent.

6. Under such circumstances it is very satisfactory to report that we experience no obstacles from any party, and pass without molestation. Our position at Kala Bagh was singular, for we were within hearing of the drums (*nugarus*) of the hostile parties, while the Sikhs had conducted some of our party up the east bank, and the Eesa Khyl Chief was escorting another portion of it along his side of the river, and evinced most marked civility throughout by assisting our coxswains in passing to and from Cabool, and also by furnishing trackers for the boats. The name of this person is Ahmed Khan, a man of whom all the Sikhs even speak with respect. He sent his principal persons to me at Kala Bagh with a horse and camel, but I declined these gifts, though I thanked the man cordially, by

letter, for his attentions, and told him, as the best return that I could make, that it would be politic for him to conciliate the Maharaja; and, I may observe, that however the parties settle their differences, our presence has been to neither unsatisfactory.

7. I am also happy to report that I have just received communications from the Ameer of Cabool, in reply to my letters addressed to him from Dera Ghazee Khan, notifying that he has instructed his son Mahomed Akbar Khan to have us escorted through the Khyber Pass to Cabool, and that personage addresses me himself that he anxiously awaits our arrival. It is well known that the Khyber Pass is of the first importance, and through which Nadir Shah could only travel by the liberal distribution of money among the lawless tribes who occupy it. A caravan of merchants does not attempt it, and if the Chief of Cabool can really protect us through it, it will be a good proof of his power, and a satisfactory opportunity of judging precisely as to its strength and importance in war.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Camp near Hassan Abdal,
31 July 1837.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin.*

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the whole of your proceedings, and the tenor of your correspondence with Dost Mahomed Khan, are entirely approved by his Lordship in Council.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William,
31 July 1837.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to report for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, the heads of intelligence which are current at this mart, relative to the affairs of Persia and Afghanistan.

"1st. The King of Persia has sent a dress of honour to Sher Mahomed Khan the Beglerbegee of the great Huzara tribe, lying eastward of Herat, requesting him to be friendly to the Persian interests. Shah Kamran, to whom this chief has been nominally subject, has been much offended at this gift, and sent a message to the Hazara requesting him to be ready with his troops to attack Candahar.

"2d. Shah Kamran has moved forward his artillery to Subzawur on the road to Candahar, and is at present with his troops encamped at Pool i Milau three coss from Herat, where he has halted on account of a rumour that the King of Persia is marching on Meshid.

"3d. The Sirdar of Candahar has sent his son Mahomed Sadeek to Grisk, to oppose Kamran, and the chief and his brothers will advance in person, as soon as it is known that Kamran has marched on Candahar."

2. It

* Letter dated 8th June 1837, reporting receipt of notification to await instructions at Mittun Kote, and his intention of doing so at Dera Ismael Khan, under the plea of gathering commercial information, stating your belief that the Affghans having retired in Khyber, terminates the campaign at Peshawur, and forwarding copy of correspondence with the Chief of Cabool. Letter dated 20th June 1837, reporting that Lieutenant Mackeson, the British agent for the navigation of the Indus, has joined you.

2. It is certain that all these rumours are at present current at Shikarpoor, and that they are in part believed by the merchants, and I report them on the authority of a cossid who was in Candahar 13 days ago. It seems also, that if the King of Persia really means to advance on Herat, he must do so in the course of the two succeeding months, which is the time of the harvest. Under these circumstances, I yesterday despatched a person to Candahar to ascertain the truth of these rumours, and as that city is about eight days' journey for a courier, I hope to have the honour of communicating more authentic particulars in the course of 20 days.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Shikarpoor, 3 April 1837.

To Captain *Burnes.*

Sir,

ON the important commercial objects of the mission which has been entrusted to you, you have already received full instructions, and by my letter of the 21st November you have been informed generally of the earnest wish of the Governor General in Council for the preservation of peace in the countries between India and Persia.

2. Unhappily it seems probable that that wish will not be realised; and although on the one side the Persian expedition has for a time been discomfited, and the ambitious schemes of the Shah seem to be at present of necessity suspended, yet its revival is confidently talked of, whilst on the eastern frontier of Afghanistan, Dost Mahomed Khan has by imprudent demonstrations and threats provoked the Sikhs to extensive preparations, and is in immediate hazard of attack from that formidable state. There is no cordiality of feeling or unity of exertion between him and the Chiefs of Candahar, and, far from endeavouring to save himself by measures of conciliation, he seems to be meditating acts of aggression so rash and so violent as to place in jeopardy the very existence of his power.

3. It will be difficult for his Lordship in Council from this distance to lay down precise rules by which your course must be determined, amidst the distraction and dangers which the preceding description indicates, and it will be for yourself to decide (and in forming any decision you will have the advantage of advice from Captain Wade and of communication with him) with what chance of success you can further pursue the objects entrusted to you in that quarter. If, as is most probable, the Afghan and Sikh force should be in hostile collision, and the re-establishment of tranquillity, and it any dominant influence seem doubtful, it will be right that you should not proceed further, and you will consider whether your mission may not be suspended, at least for a time, or pursued only by your proceeding in the first instance to Candahar.

4. On the other hand, if you should learn that the Sikh and the Afghan armies should have but little disposition to advance, from a consciousness of military inferiority on the one side, and from the anticipation of difficulty in a mountainous and unproductive country on the other, and that a desire has been evinced by both the contending parties rather for political adjustment than for conflict, and that without committing your Government to the exercise of direct influence you may either safely act on your original instructions, or perhaps even contribute something to the restoration of the peace; in this case, although from the information at this moment before the Governor General in Council, it is his opinion that it would be more prudent to wait and watch the course of events, he will not object to your proceeding; and in this uncertainty I am desired to instruct you, whether in Peshawur, in Cabool, or in Candahar, to prosecute the commercial inquiries which were prescribed by your original instructions with extreme caution; in no country to give offence or suspicion to its ruler, and in all to act so as to mark the

anxious desire of the British Government for the restoration of tranquillity and for the establishment of friendly relations; but in any case in which specific political propositions shall be made to you, you will state that you have no authority to make replies, but that you will forward them, through Captain Wade, to the Government. If applied to, as you probably may be, for advice by Dost Mahomed Khan, in the difficulties by which he is surrounded, you will dissuade him from insisting in such a crisis from pretensions which he cannot maintain, and you will lead him, as far as may be in your power, to seek and to form arrangements of reconciliation for himself with the Sikh sovereign.

5. But, beyond commercial information, his Lordship in Council will expect to have conveyed to him whatever you may learn upon the history since the period of your last visit, upon the present condition, the internal government, the revenue, the military establishment and resources, and on the power of the chiefs and the disposition of the people in each country that you may visit, and, as far as may be, in the countries contiguous; and you will particularly learn what has been the degree of recent connexion with Persia, and by what agents it has been conducted, and what would be the probable result of a Persian attack upon Herat.

6. You will observe the general feelings towards the British and the Russian Governments, the impression prevailing of the power and resources of either, the degree in which the supposition is entertained of an intimate union between the Persian and Russian Governments, and in which that supposition is likely to have influence; and you will gather all the information in your power on the commerce of Russia, and on the measures adopted by that power with the object of extending her influence in Central Asia.

7. You are authorised also, as you may judge it expedient, to address letters to Shah Kamran of Herat, to the King or Minister of Bokhara, and to other chiefs, expressing friendship on the part of your Government, and stating to them that you are come to arrange measures for the encouragement of commerce with India where they may be assured that traders from their country will be treated with equity and kindness, and you may accompany these letters with such presents of moderate value as are likely to be acceptable.

8. It is desirable that in any journey which you may take you should follow a different route from that which you adopted in your former travels, but you will be particularly cautious not to expose yourself to personal risk.

9. With a view to the possibility of your advance, credentials, copies of which are enclosed for your information, on your behalf, addressed to the Chiefs of Cabool and Candahar, are transmitted with this letter.

10. I am desired to take this opportunity of furnishing you with a copy of the letter written on the 24th of April to Captain Wade, relative to an individual named Hajee Hoosein Ali Khan. That individual has since solicited permission to return to his own country, and he is about to set out in a day or two, *via* Hyderabad (in the Dekhan), Bombay, Cutch, and Sind. A copy of the communication which I made to him on the 1st instant, under the instructions of the Governor General in Council, is also sent herewith for your information. He has not had an interview with the Governor General, nor, under the suspicions which attach to him, has he received any other attentions than those which are due to an Afghan gentleman who was certainly encouraged to visit India by Mr. Ellis, His Majesty's Ambassador in Persia. You will, of course, communicate, for the information of his Lordship in Council, any particulars that may come to your knowledge relative to the individual in question.

11. I am further desired to annex, for your information, copy of the instructions of this date to Captain Wade.

I have, &c.

Fort William,
15 May 1837.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE NOW the honour to communicate, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the reply of the Ameer of Cabool to my communication from Dera Ismael Khan, as well as a letter from his secretary, Mirza Samad Khan, translations of both of which I append.

2. In the last of these letters it will be seen that all doubts as to the appearance of an elchee from Persia have been dispelled by his arrival at Candahar, and his reported intention of advancing shortly to Cabool along with one of the Candahar Sirdars. The same letter states that an embassy had also arrived from the King of Bokhara.

3. The reply of the Ameer of Cabool, it appears to me, is both friendly and satisfactory; but it is very evident that he and his advisers are determined to make the most of the presence of an agent of the British Government. Under existing circumstances, too, it will be a difficult matter, with the presence of agents from so many quarters offering their services, coupled with the late affair at Peshawar, to satisfy Dost Mahomed Khan; but I shall dwell upon the advantage which must accrue to him from being the first of his family who has had personal communication with an agent of the British Government; the influence it must give him, and the opportunity which he now has, by acting prudently and cautiously, to consolidate his power.

4. This language may or may not satisfy the Chief of Cabool; and should it not, few opportunities have occurred, as it seems to me, more favourable for marking, in some decided manner to the neighbouring nations, the views of the British Government, if it is ever intended to extend our political influence in these countries, or make the late arrangements on the Indus a step to ulterior measures.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes*,

Camp at Hassan Abdal,
1 August 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, of Cabool, to Captain *Burnes*,
received near Hassan Abdal, 31st July 1837.

A. C.,

YOUR letter from Dera Ismael Khan reached me at a most happy time. I was very much delighted to learn from it that you enjoy perfect health. You have spoken of the battle which took place between me and the Sikhs, and which did not appear to you advisable, because of the commercial ends in view. You added also, that commerce requires peace and tranquillity. You are right, and in truth your observations are unanswerable; but, as the proverb runs, if the enemy wants to treat, do not turn your head; and if he wants to fight, do not pull your reins. What you have written about its being for the good of both Governments (Sikhs and Afghans) to make peace, I have been long thinking the same, and have kept every business unsettled in the hope of your immediate arrival; but in the meantime, a serious matter, which must have reached your ears from every quarter, took place; viz., Sirdar Husee Singh erecting forts in the district of Peshawur, which caused the Ghazees, or champions of the faith, to assemble. Although I wrote to him many letters of friendly advice, he filled his ears with cotton, and never attended to them. I also learned from Captain Wade's letter, that the Sirdar had built the fort without the sanction of his superior (the Maharaja). At last, on his building a fort in Jamrood, which is the abode of the Khybaree Afghans, they saw no remedy but resistance, and laid all their grievances before me. After a long and careful deliberation, it appeared impossible to settle the affair but by war, and I gave a hint to my son, Mahomed

Akbar Khan, who obeyed, and what he did is done. You have, of course, since received every particular of the case from Mirza Abdul Samad Khan. On your arrival at Dera Ismael Khan, both armies immediately withdrew to their own stations without hesitation; and be assured that everything is right. Whatever you may advise for the welfare of the Government, it will never be departed from. Write to me without fail, day by day, until we meet each other.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mirza Abdul Samad Khan, the Secretary of Dost Mahomed Khan, to Captain *Burnes*; received on the same day.

A. C.,

I SENT a letter to you from Julalabad, which I hope will have reached you, on hearing that Now Nihal Singh and Rajah Diban Singh had returned to Lahore, and left about 20,000 troops, under some Sirdars, to protect Peshawar. The Ameer also summoned to Cabool Sirdar Mahomed Akbar Khan, Nawab Jabbar Khan, Sirdar Mahomed Usman Khan, and Shuja Ud Doulah Khan. The Sirdar has given very strict orders to Assajan Khan, of Julalabad, to proceed and welcome you in the mouth of the Khyber Pass, and conduct you from thence, with distinction, to Cabool.

I am now at Jugdaluk, on my way to Cabool; and I learn from letters just received that one of the Sirdars is coming from Candahar to Cabool, and that the Persian elchee has arrived there, and is also expected very soon at Cabool. Before this, an elchee had arrived from the King of Bokhara; but I think the Ameer will pay no attention whatever to the objects of any of them until you reach Cabool. When you come, the Ameer will do as you advise. Since peace is re-established, and every person is comfortable, and the weather agreeable, all look out anxiously for you. Come as quick as you can.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE NOW the honour to report that we crossed the Indus at Attok on the 8th instant, and entered this city on the 13th, where we have been received with marked distinction and honour by Kurruck Sing, the Chevalier Avitabile, and all the officers of Maharaja Runjeet Sing.

2. It is now my intention to set out for Cabool on the morning of the 28th, and enter the defile of Khyber the following day, through which the party is to be escorted by all the chiefs of these mountains.

3. Of this territory I have only to report to his Lordship in Council that it is a complete drain on the finances of the Maharaja, from which, if I have rightly caught the spirit of his people, his Highness would now willingly withdraw; and I should not be surprised that he shortly made a direct offer to fall back on the arrangements preceding 1833, by which Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and his brothers, would be left to govern Peshawar, rendering tribute to Lahore. There is a facility in this arrangement, since I have heard strong assurances that the Chief of Cabool would readily acquiesce in it, but on this I cannot at present speak with precision.

4. Sooltan Mahomed Khan and his family have sought anxiously to interest me in their behalf, but beyond expressions of sympathy at their misfortunes, and hopes that circumstances may again restore them to authority, I have, I think, parried their

their request. Sooltan Mahomed Khan has not concealed from me his differences with his brother of Cabool, and his opinions of being able to injure him by means of Runjeet Sing; but in these sentiments I only recognise the homage he pays to the greater strength of the chief of Cabool.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Peshawur, 22 August 1837.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that we quitted Peshawur yesterday morning, and are now encamped on the scene of the late conflict between the Sikhs and Afghans, where the ruler of the Punjab is actively engaged in erecting a fort; we only await the arrival of Dost Mahomed Khan's officers to enter the defile of Khyber.

2. In my communication of the 22d instant I reported the courteous reception we had met with in Peshawur. It continued to the last, and in company with Kour Kurruck Sing we were conducted to see the fort of Peshawur, and had reviews of the regular and irregular troops composing the garrison. The force at present amounts to 46 guns, 250 camel swivels, 14 battalions, and about 20,000 irregular cavalry; and the efficiency of the body does great credit to the Maharaja and his officers.

3. Up to the 26th instant all my intercourse with the Seik authorities was confined to mere ceremony and expression of friendship, but on that day I was invited, with all the party, to hold a private conference with Kour Kurruck Sing. The prince himself is imbecile, and quite incompetent to keep up even common conversation, but he was attended by Jemadar Kooshial Sing, Sirdar Attar Sing Sindewala, Lena Sing, Sham Sing, and other persons of rank.

4. The prince stated that he had had a letter from his father which he wished to make known to me; and his advisers proceeded to state, that the Maharaja had instructed him to ask me, what were the precise views of the British Government in deputing me to Cabool. I immediately replied by recurring to all our late arrangements for opening the Indus, and stated that we had founded that measure on the good understanding between the Maharaja and the British Government, and that, with his Highness's permission, we had now minutely examined the Indus to Attok, and that my further journey westward had reference to working out the benefits to be derived from this extensive water communication. These, said I, were the views contemplated by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, when I was first deputed to these countries; but I concluded that the question now put from the Maharaja, had arisen from the late collision of his troops with those of Dost Mahomed Khan.

5. The prince and his advisers of course admitted at once that it was this which had given rise to anxiety, and stated that there was no comparison between the forces of the Amcer of Cabool and their master; that the late affair of Jumrood was not a victory, but a mere surprise, and that the Maharaja would have subsequently marched to Jullalabad and captured it, but for the approach of a mission from the British Government, whose friendship Maharaja Runjeet Singh ardently desired, and the dread of offending which had kept him in position at Peshawur.

6. In answer to these observations, I stated that the British Government, though it anxiously wished to see peace on its frontiers, and despaired of turning the navigation of the Indus to advantage without it, had yet no desire to unnecessarily mix itself up with these unfortunate differences; and that I had delayed at Dera Ismael Khan, by orders of the Governor General, so long as war raged, and only now advanced since peace seemed to be restored; that I would set out for Cabool in a few days, and I could assure the Prince and his advisers, for the Maharaja's information, that the friendship between him and the British Government would not be diminished by any proceedings in that country, and that the

report of the distinction with which I had been received here would soon be current there; that the Chief of Cabool would know from various quarters, and from myself, that I had left the door of the son of the ruler of the Punjab with a declaration that the British Government had not authorised me to enter on any subject which might prove prejudicial to the good understanding which had so long and happily existed between it and Maharaja Runjeet Sing. These sentiments, in which I hope I have embodied the views of the Government of India, gave considerable satisfaction, and at the request of Kour Kurruck Sing, I addressed a letter to the Maharaja expressive of my thanks for his honoured treatment, and stating also that he would hear what had passed on the subject of his message from his son.

7. After the affairs of Cabool had been gone through, the Jemadar Keshal Sing turned the conversation upon Sindh, on which it appeared also the Maharaja wanted information, coming as we had done from that country. I was not slow to avail myself of the opportunity, and explained clearly that our object in establishing an agent in Sindh was to give due effect to all our arrangements regarding the navigation of the Indus, which had been hitherto clogged for want of a resident officer in that country; and that with reference to our having procured possession of Shikarpoor, which was currently rumoured, I begged to contradict it, and to assure the Maharaja, through his son and his advisers, that our objects were not territorial aggrandizement or the possession of Shikarpoor, but the establishment of such an influence along the river Indus as would give confidence to the community, who could not be expected to embark in commercial speculations when war and the disorders consequent upon it impended.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Camp at Jumrood, 31 August 1837.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I now do myself the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that we entered the defile of Khyber on the morning of the 2d, have passed in perfect safety through it, and are now encamped on the banks of the river of Cabool, in the dominions of Dost Mahomed Khan.

2. The circumstances under which we crossed this great road deserve mention. Some miscalculation as to the date of our arrival, on the part of Dost Mahomed Khan's officers, prevented their coming to the mouth of the pass of Khyber, and I entered the defile without any protection but the Khyberces themselves. They escorted us safely, and even in the confusion which ensued in the pass (which runs in the bed of a river) when unexpectedly overflowed by a torrent, they resisted all temptations to plunder. In the last half of the pass we were joined by Dost Mahomed Khan's officers and troops.

3. From inquiries instituted on the spot, I do not doubt but this great commercial road could be thrown open by an arrangement with the different Khyber chiefs. In the time of the Moghul emperors they were kept in regular pay, and the scale of transit duties which they now produced to me, and by which they are willing to be guided, was by no means exorbitant. On reaching Cabool, I shall state these views to Amcer Dost Mahomed Khan, to whom the Khyberces do certainly at present owe or affect allegiance, and see if an end so desirable cannot be accomplished.

4. It is a very curious circumstance in the history of the commerce of these countries, that the roads from this to India are shut up, perhaps in a greater degree, in consequence of the exorbitant custom-house exactions of Maharaja Runjeet Sing, than of the needy mountaineers west of the Indus; and if that great man could have his mind turned to the improvement of his internal economy,

economy, it might withdraw him from schemes of conquest and ambition, and would indubitably contribute to the peace and prosperity of the countries on the British frontier, and the well-being of all parties.

Camp at Duka,
4 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to submit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, a report on the political power of the Sikhs westward of the Indus, which at the present time may prove interesting to his Lordship in Council, when this neighbourhood engages attention.

Camp, near Julalabad,
8 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

ON the POLITICAL POWER of the *Sikhs* beyond the *Indus*.
By Captain *Burnes*.

Outline of Sikh Power West of the Indus.

THE power of the Sikhs westward of the Indus may be said to be confined to the plain country. It can only be enforced in the mountains by the presence of an army, and in some of the hilly tracts, even bordering on the river, the Mahomedans successfully resist it. The strength of their country, and not their power, enables them to cope with Maharaja Runjeet Singh. The low country, on the other hand, is under complete subjection to Lahore, the Derajat without the presence of a regular force, which is, however, necessary in the plain of Peshawur. For six degrees of latitude, from 34° 30' north, down to 28° 30', or the frontiers of Sind, the Sikhs have either possession of the country west of the river, or exercise some kind of influence over it. An enumeration in detail of the condition of the different petty states will best bear out these observations.

Poyndu Khan of Puklee.

2. The most northern territory with which Runjeet Sing has been brought into collision west of the Indus is that of Poyndu Khan Turnowlee; a Moghul by descent.

The possessions of this chief consisted of a small but rich tract of country eastward of the Abooseen (so the Indus is here called) in puklee, yielding yearly about a lac of rupees. Of this the Sikhs have deprived him. He yet holds the fort of Chuttoorbye, on an island in the Indus, about 10 miles north of Derbund, and a country of about 240 square miles on the west bank. From this tract the Sikhs draw no tribute, and even on the east bank they hold their possession with difficulty, Poyndu Khan making continual forays across the river, and carrying off prisoners, on whose ransom he supports himself and his people. He has about 500 horse, and keeps up about 2,000 infantry, most of whom are natives of Hindoostan. These were drawn into this country by the fanatic Syud Ahmed, who was slain by the Sikhs in 1831.

Sittana.

3. Succeeding Poyndu Khan's country, and below Derbund, lies the district of Sittana, about 15 miles north of Torbaila. It is held, with a very small tract, by Syud Akbar, a holy man, who is much revered by the Mahomedans in this country. He has no tribute to pay to the Sikhs, nor are he or his few subjects molested by them.*

Euzoofzyes.

4. Below these petty districts, and in from them, lie the territories of the Euzoofzyes, a numerous and powerful tribe of Afghans, whom the Sikhs control by retaining a regular force cantoned in the plain country, north of Attok, between the Indus and river of Cabool. This body is protected from surprise by Tangeera, a fort of some strength, built on the north bank of the river of Cabool, about five miles from where it falls into the Indus. The Euzoofzyes are the tribe from which the ruler of Lahore experienced so much opposition in his approaches on Peshawur, and with whom some of his most sanguinary conflicts have taken place. The late Sirdar Huree Sing, who has just fallen in the battle of Jumrood, was in the habit of making yearly incursions among the Euzoofzyes, burning their villages and crops, and demanding horses, &c. in tribute. At different times he has destroyed the villages of Topce, Minee, Kota, Moonara and Beeree, which belong to the Otmanzye Euzoofzyes. From these he used to exact about 60 horses; but two years since, by mutual agreement, a tax of four rupees per house was fixed in lieu of every demand. This is, however, only rendered to the force which overawes them. The sum realised sometimes amounts to 60,000 rupees. The principal person among the Euzoofzyes is Futtih Khan, chief of Punjar, whose territories to the west are bounded by Swat and Hushtnuggur. He has about 1,500 foot and 200 horse, besides village (Oolosec) troops. He has sent horses and hawks to the Sikhs, but pays no regular tribute.† He will not allow an agent of the Sikhs to enter his country. He has greater means of resisting than his more southern neighbours.

Plain of Peshawur.

5. The plain of Peshawur is the most northern actual conquest of the Sikhs west of the Indus. For many years it yielded an annual tribute of horses and rice to Lahore; but in 1834, when the ex-King Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk made the attempt to recover his kingdom, by an attack on Candahar, Runjeet Sing seized upon Peshawur, and has since retained it. It is stated that the Maharaja's design in seizing Peshawur was to counteract the power of the Shah, should he re-establish himself on his throne; but there is more reason to believe that his foresight did not extend thus far, and that Sirdar Huree Sing, from a long residence on the Attok, and incessant wars with the Mahomedans, urged him to the step, and succeeded against his own better judgment. The policy of the conquest was always dubious, and has been throughout a source of much anxiety, and latterly a cause of disaster, and the loss of Sirdar Huree Sing's life. Previous to its conquest, Peshawur was held by a branch of the Barukzye family under Sooltan Mohomed Khan and his brothers, who realised a yearly revenue of upwards of eight lacs of rupees. The assessment under Lahore amounted to 10 lacs, and this sum has since been realised by the French officer (M. Avitabile) who fixed it. A small portion of it, however, reaches the coffers of the Sikhs, for at the present time Sooltan Mohomed Khan, and his brothers, possess jagheers to the amount of four and a half lacs
of

* Lieutenant Leech ascended the right bank of the Indus opposite to Derbund, and to him I am indebted for these particulars.

† An agent of this chief waited upon me with a letter, tendering his master's allegiance to the British Government, and offering to pay the usual tribute. Finding his country adjoined Kafiristan, I made some inquiries regarding it; and the agent immediately offered to commute the tribute of horses into one of young Kaffirs, thinking the change of terms would be more acceptable!

of rupees, and hold Cohat, Hushtnuggur and the Doaba, the richest portion of the plain. The country of the Khuleels, yielding about a lac of rupees, is entirely deserted; and that of the Momunds, which is nearly as valuable, is only half cultivated. Six out of ten lacs are thus expended; and, besides these, lands are alienated to religious persons, and a large garrison is kept up at Peshawur, and much additional expense is incurred, so that Peshawur is a drain on the finances of the Lahore state, with the additional disadvantage of being so situated as to lead the Sikhs into constant collision with desperate enemies, who are only powerless because they want money. In the city of Peshawur, the Sikhs have built a fort on the site of Bala Hissar. It is strong, and in the late war afforded protection to the wealthier inhabitants. They have also sought to strengthen their position by erecting a new fort, called Futehghur, near Jamrood, opposite the Khyber Pass. It is a square of about 300 yards, protecting an octagonal fort, in the centre of which is a lofty mass of building commanding the surrounding country. This fort is dependent on the mountain streams for its water, which the Afghans can and do dam up. A well, however, has been sunk, but at a depth of 170 feet water has not been found, but from indications in the soil may be expected. With this defence, the position will be a troublesome one; for the Afreedees and Khyberees consider it meritorious to injure the Sikhs, and during two days that we halted at it, drove off a herd of camels, and murdered two Sikhs, who had gone a couple of miles from camp.

Khuttuks and Sagrees.

6. Between the plain of Peshawur and the Salt Range at Kala Bagh, lies the country of the Khuttuks and Sagree Afghans. The Khuttuks are divided into the petty chiefships of Acora and Teree. Acora lies east of the plain of Peshawur, on the river of Cabool; and its chief, Hussan Khan, serves the Sikhs, and is permitted to hold his country in consequence. The Khuttuks of Acora, who live in the hills, are not however subject to Runjeet Sing. The southern division, under the chief of Teree, is able to assert his independence, in so far as that he refuses to pay a direct tribute, though he acknowledges the supremacy of Sooltan Mahomed Khan, who is but a servant of the Sikhs. When Peshawur fell first into the hands of Runjeet Sing, he stationed a Sikh officer in Cohat and Bungush, but he found it next to impossible to manage the country directly under himself, and has since wisely confided it to the ex-chief of Peshawur. By this means a small tribute of about 1,000 rupees per annum is drawn from Teree, in the plain of Bungush, which lies westward of the Khuttuk country. Below the Khuttuks lie the Sagree Patans, a tribe entirely independent of the Sikhs. They hold the country on the west bank for nearly 30 miles above Kala Bagh, and also possess it on the opposite bank as high as the plain commencing at Hassan Abdal. They are shepherds, and have numerous flocks. From Attok to Kalabagh, it will therefore be seen that the Sikhs have little or no power along the line of the Indus. The inhabitants, during the last campaign, resisted the ascent of boats from Kala Bagh to construct the bridge of boats, till Sooltan Mahomed Khan interceded; and had the Sikhs met with further reverses at Jumrood, the Khuttuks were ready to attack them on their retreat to Attok, as they passed the defile of Geedur Gullee.* The number of the Khuttuk tribe is variously stated at 6,000 and 8,000 armed men.

Kala Bagh.

7. The town of Kala Bagh, so famous for its rock salt, is subject to Runjeet Singh, but held by a native malik, or chief, who pays 10,000 rupees yearly to Lahore, though he collected 32,000. The situation of the malik is very unsatisfactory, for he is surrounded on all sides by the enemies of the Sikhs, with whom he is obliged to live on friendly terms, that they may not injure him when the Sikh troops are withdrawn. Kala Bagh is an important position to the Maharaja, as it is here that he crosses his army to make inroads and levy
tribute

* Lieutenant Wood passed through the country of the Khuttuks and Sagrees, and on his authority I am enabled to state the precise condition of this tract.

tribute upon the tribes, which we shall presently speak of. The subjection of Kala Bagh is complete.

Eesakhyl.

8. Following the course of the Indus is the country of the Eesakhyl Afghans, which extends to within 30 miles of the province of Dera Ismael Khan. It is a strong and mountainous strip of land, and in its valleys finely watered and well peopled. The Sikhs have, however, approached it from Paharpoor on the south, and also from Kala Bagh, and exact pretty regularly a tribute of 34,000 rupees per annum. To enforce their authority a detachment was last year stationed in the country; but the whole party were massacred during a rise of the population; and the present chief, Ahmed Khan, who has the character of a humane and good man, has resisted all attempts to replace the detachment, though he acknowledges allegiance to Lahore, and agrees to pay his tribute. The mountains of Eesakhyl and Khussoor rise so abruptly from the Indus, that but for the access to this country on other sides, it might make successful resistance; and the latest intelligence from this neighbourhood reports that the Eesakhyl are to be left to govern themselves without a garrison, if they pay their tribute.

Bunnoo.

9. In from Eesakhyl lies the district of Bunnoo, intersected by the Koorum River, which renders it rich and fertile, and excites the cupidity of the Sikhs. The Lahore troops have frequently entered Bunnoo, and did so last year, exacting tribute from it of a lac of rupees. They receive nothing without a large force, and one is generally sent every second year. In the times of the kings, Bunnoo paid a yearly tribute of 1 lac and 40,000 rupees; and the flatness of the country will always enable the most powerful chief in the neighbourhood to exact something from it. The Sikhs have no troops in Bunnoo, and enter it by the village of Lukhee.

Murwut.

10. South of Bunnoo lies Murwut. A tribute of 28,000 rupees is exacted from this district; but, as in Bunnoo, an armed force is necessary. It is a country rich in grain, which is sent down the Indus to Dera Ismael Khan.

Tak.

11. The district of Tak adjoins the province of Dera Ismael Khan, and, being partly in the plains, is now held subject to Lahore. At present it forms part of the jagheer of No Nihal Sing, and is farmed for 1 lac and 20,000 rupees; but the amount realised is varying, though certain, a Sikh force being located in the country. The chiefs for some years paid a tribute of 100 camels and 25,000 rupees; but they have now left the country and fled to Cabool. The only enemies of which the Sikhs here stand in awe are the Wuzzeerees, a barbarous tribe of Afghans who inhabit the mountains to the westward, and sometimes descend and plunder in the low country.

Dera Ismael Khan.

12. The next tract we come upon in descending the Indus, is Dera Ismael Khan, which formed one of the governments of the Dooranees. It was taken permanent possession of last year by the Sikhs, and assigned as a jagheer to No Nihal Sing, the grandson of the Maharaja. The breach of faith in seizing it renders the Sikh administration very unpopular; for on the conquest of Mankaira, east of the Indus, the ruler of Lahore assigned Dera Ismael Khan in perpetuity to the Nawab, after a brave and memorable defence. Its revenue exceeds 4½ lacs of rupees, which is drawn from the town itself to Paharpoor north, Kaheree south, and Drabund west, including Kolaichee, Koye, and the tribute of Eesakhyl. The ex-ruler is pensioned on 60,000 rupees a year, and,
as

as the following statement will show, but half the balance reaches the young prince :—

Net Revenue of Dera Ismael Khan - - - - -							<i>Rs.</i> 4,25,000
EXPENSES.							<i>Rs.</i>
Pension to the Ex-Nawab	-	-	-	-	-	-	50,000
Poyndu Khan for	-	-	-	100	horse	-	28,000
Hyat Oollah for	-	-	-	55	ditto	-	16,000
Hush Khan for	-	-	-	60	ditto	-	20,000
Ashik Khan for	-	-	-	67	ditto	-	18,200
Sikunder Khan for	-	-	-	24	ditto	-	8,000
Lukmee Mul for	-	-	-	25	ditto	-	9,000
Number of Horse, 331.							
JAGHEERS.							
Futtih Sing Mhan	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,000
Juggut Sing	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,000
Bye Seik	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,000
Managing Dewan	-	-	-	-	-	-	14,000
Alms	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,000
Net Expenses	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,06,200
RECEIPTS.							
Taxes from Kaheree to Eesakhyl	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,50,000
Town duties from Paharpoor, Dera Ismael, &c., estimated at	-	-	-	-	-	-	68,000
Net Receipts	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,18,800
TOTAL - - -							<i>Rs.</i> 4,25,000

The seizure of Dera Ismael Khan, it is stated, has been urged upon the Maharaja to strengthen his position in Peshawur, but the places have no connexion with one another, and are separated by the Khuttuk country, which is impervious to any force but a large one, though a gun road passes through it. The Lahore chief will have no difficulty in retaining Dera Ismael Khan, for the people are less warlike than their neighbours, and a great portion of the inhabitants are addicted to commerce, and have an interest in the peace and tranquillity of the country.

Dera Ghazee Khan.

South of Dera Ismael Khan lies the large tract of Dera Ghazee Khan, which extends as far west as the mountains, and along the Indus to Sindh. These two provinces are generally known by the name of Derajat. Dera Ghazee Khan was conquered by the Sikhs about 25 years ago, but it was not their policy at that time to hold any permanent possession westward of the Indus, and it was farmed to the chief of Bhawalpoor, who mismanaged it grossly till it was resumed in 1832. It has since become a most flourishing territory, for which M. Ventura may claim every credit. Below Kaheree the districts of Gunung, Saugur, Dena, and Hurrund Dajil succeed each other, extending south of Mittun, and are richly watered by numerous streamlets from the hills, the principal of which are the Goomul, Rumul, Vahoor, Sungur, and Shoree. These, with the strip of land on the east bank of the Indus, called Cuchee, now yield a revenue of 8½ or 9 lacs of rupees. The amount would be much greater

if a money tribute were not exacted in room of a grain one, which distresses the cultivators. Sikh authority is established to the base of the hills; and the mountaineers, the Stooreeanees, &c., even pay for the lands which they are allowed to cultivate in the low country. The only turbulent portion of this tract lies to the south, near Hurrund and Dagil, which are acquisitions from the Brahooces of a late date, and being molested by the Doomkees, Muzarees, &c., require a watchful eye. Otherwise, the Sikh rule is paramount in this country; their Grunth, or holy book, is placed in mosques and sometimes in temples built for it; the cow is a sacred animal, and no Mahomedan raises his voice in praying to his God, the clearest proofs of conquest; but at the same time, an interference so impolitic that on the slightest reverse westward of the Indus, the subdued and sullen population are ready to rise *en masse* upon the invaders of their soil, whose position for a portion of every season is further endangered by the inundation of the Indus, during which it cannot be bridged, and is with difficulty passed by an army.

Camp on the Cabool River,
near Julalabad, 8 September 1837.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I now proceed to lay before the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council a report on the recent intercourse of Candahar with Russia and Persia, founded on documents and information which I consider authentic.

2. Immediately on the receipt of the despatches from our ambassador in Persia at Dera Ghazee Khan, in June last, I despatched a messenger to Candahar to inquire into the state of affairs there, that I might neutralise, as far as was then in my power, the results which might flow from the arrival of a Persian elchee at that city. I addressed the chief of Candahar (Khan Dil Khan) and his two brothers, and made known to them the views contemplated by his Lordship in Council by my deputation west of the Indus. I availed myself of this opportunity to seek [from private correspondents] an account of the state of affairs in that country, and my messengers returned yesterday.

3. The principal chief of Candahar was absent when the courier arrived, but his brother Rahim Dil and Meer Dil Khan have forwarded to me letters, expressive of their highest satisfaction at the prospect of meeting an agent of the British Government, and the reply of their elder brother is promised immediately on his return to the city. How far these professions of satisfaction tally with what is hereafter given, his Lordship in Council will be best able to judge.

4. My private correspondents narrate, in circumstantial detail, the whole affair of the Persian elchee's arrival, reception and treatment, as well as the fullest particulars regarding the change of presents and letters between the chief of Candahar and the Russian ambassador at Tehran.

5. The foundation of the intercourse between Candahar and Russia is to be traced to Abbas Khan, the son of the shater bashee of Shah Kamran, who fled from Herat to Tehran about two years ago, and became at that capital the guest of the Russian ambassador, [from whom he received pay.*]

6. Abbas Khan, possessing some influence with the chiefs of Candahar, sent a secret message to them by his servant Meer Mahommed, suggesting that it would be greatly to their advantage if they addressed the Russian minister at Tehran, and they accordingly charged Tej Mahomed Khan, an envoy whom they had deputed to the Shah of Persia with a letter to the Russian ambassador, the contents of which were as follows:

“That the sirdars of Candahar were sincerely anxious to enter into a friendly connexion with Russia, as family differences had long existed among them. and
in

* [This fact is stated by Mr. McNeill in a private letter to myself.]

in consequence of these, that Runjeet Sing, the Sikh Chieftain of Lahore, had seized much of their country ; that money alone was wanted to expel him ; for troops they had in abundance, but not the means to pay them, and that they hoped for such assistance from Russia."

7. This letter was delivered into the hands of the Russian Minister at Tehran, to whom Tej Mahomed Khan was introduced by Abbass Khan, and at the same time he delivered a fur cloak (postem), ornamented with gold, from the Chief of Candahar ; the Russian Minister expressed great satisfaction at the receipt of this letter, and directed a likeness of Tej Mahomed Khan to be taken, which he said he would forward to St. Petersburg.

8. Some time after the arrival of his envoy, the Shah deputed Kumbur Ali Khan as his elchee to Candahar and Cabool, the copy of whose instructions and credentials are already before Government ; along with him the Candahar envoy started, and the Russian Minister gave him a letter to the chief,* expressing his great satisfaction at the friendly sentiments he had communicated, and dismissed him with a message, suggesting that Kohundil Khan should send his son to Tehran, and that an elchee of Russia would return the compliment in the following year, when any money that could be spared would be despatched to satisfy the wants of the Candahar Chief. By this opportunity [the following] presents were sent by the Russian Minister to the Candahar Chiefs.

[To Sirdar Kohindil Khan :—A good telescope, a double-barrelled gun, a fur cloak, some broad cloth.

To Rahun Dil Khan :—A watch, a pair of pistols, some broad cloth.

To Mihr Dil Khan :—A pipe, with silver head, some broad cloth, some yellow chintz.

Besides, there were some trifling presents for the son of the late Sirdar Porrhil Khan, and likewise for the Sirdar's son.]

9. In company of Tej Mahomed Khan came Meer Mahomed,† the servant of Abbas Khan, and on reaching Candahar all the Sirdars treated him with the highest distinction, and personally visited him, which is quite unusual. It is stated publicly that he is an agent of Russia.

10. Before these circumstances transpired, and the Persian elchee reached Candahar, the Ameer of Cabool addressed his brothers of Candahar, apprising them of the contents of the letter which he had received from the Governor General, regarding my mission to Cabool, and suggested the propriety of deputing one of their number to Cabool, to be present at any conference that might take place ; and his reason for doing so was, that he wished to act fairly by them. It was resolved therefore to send Mihr Dil Khan to Cabool, [who has the credit of possessing more ability than the rest of the family] ; but immediately that Tej Mahomed Khan arrived from Tehran with the Persian elchee, all arrangements have been suspended, and the journey to Cabool is now postponed *sine die*.

11. Various surmises have occurred to the Chiefs of Candahar, regarding the objects of the British Government, and the invitation of their brother of Cabool. The subject has been one of common conversation, and it appears that the Candahar family, who are not cordial with Cabool, considered that any conference there could only have reference to Peshawur, a restoration of which might not benefit themselves. They also considered that they might make themselves useful to the British Government, independent of Cabool, if their intrigues to the west fail ; but be their reasons what they may, they wish to be dealt with separately ; but what is more important than this determination is, the deputing of another envoy on their part to Tehran, by name Hajee Mobeen, who has just set out, and that too in pursuance, as it is believed, of the advice of the Russian Ambassador,‡ for it has been given out that a son of Kohun Dil Khan will follow, and that the Candahar Sirdars will attack Herat.

12. This

* [This is the communication which fell into Mr. M'Neil's hands.]

† [This is the person who made over Count Simonitch's letter to Mr. M'Neil.]

‡ [Mr. M'Neil informed me that he had been only able to impede and interrupt this communication temporarily.]

12. This envoy is the bearer of a letter to the Shah from the Candahar Chiefs, the substance of which is said to be as follows :

“ That the British Government has deputed one of its officers to Cabool, but that they (the Chiefs of Candahar) command the road to and from Herat, and not the Chief of Cabool, who is engaged in the affairs of Peshawur, and has it not in his power to serve the Shah : that they are prepared to proceed to Herat whenever the Persian army is ready, and also to send a son of the Sirdar to Tehran, and keep aloof from all friendship with the English nation.”

Along with this communication the Persian elchee has written to his Majesty the Shah, stating, that it is Candahar alone which can serve him, and seeing such to be the case, he has met their wishes, and stayed at Candahar. [Of what has been written to the Russian Minister I have had no report.]

13. [I have now stated the particulars regarding the Russian connexion with Candahar.] As reported in my letter of the 1st ultimo, Kumbur Ali Khan, the Persian envoy, has reached Candahar ; he was received with great pomp and distinction, and conducted into the city by the chiefs in person. Since, they have continued to entertain him, but he has made no progress on his way to Cabool ; seldom leaves his house, and seems likely to continue at Candahar. [At present I find it difficult to state precisely whether this arises from the chiefs or the elchee himself, whose character is described in terms not at all measured, since it appears that he and his people pass their time in revelry at the Sirdars' expense, and are seldom or ever free from the influence of wine. From this person individually I imagine there is, therefore, no danger ;* his companion, Mahomed Hoosein, the envoy of Cabool, still continues at Candahar ; the Sirdars notice him but little, and his perpetual theme of conversation is to enlarge on the power of Persia and Russia.]

14. At present Candahar has not only a representative from Persia, but from the court of Lahore, the son of Sooltan Mahomed Khan having been deputed with presents there in company with an agent from Runjeet Singh. The arrival of these gifts has given offence to the Candahar family ; they had sent some horses to their brother in Peshawur, with whom they are on very friendly terms, and he passed them on to Runjeet Singh as the tribute of Candahar : the Maharajah, in return, sent two elephants, with one of his own confidential servants ; the whole under charge of Khoja Mahomed Khan, the son of Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and, but for his near relationship, it seems doubtful if the Candahar family would have ever permitted the presents to enter Candahar ; for these chiefs reject all communication with Lahore, though they have been lately addressed in very flattering terms by the Maharaja. The most singular portion of the contents of his Highness's letters to them is a statement of his intention to restore Peshawur to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, with whom he is about to crush the Chief of Cabool, and to aid in which he requests the assistance of Candahar. The Candahar family are much concerned at the whole proceeding, though they yet entertain a sincere affection for their brother in Peshawar.

15. To such a nucleus of intrigue as the chiefship of Candahar is proved to be, by the above circumstances, I shall not fail to turn my attention, and bear in mind the instructions conveyed to me in the fifth and sixth paragraphs of your communication of the 15th of May last, and thoroughly sift the nature of all connexion between the States in Affghanistan and Persia or Russia, and as long as it pleases his Lordship in Council to keep me in these countries, I shall omit no opportunity of upholding, as far as I can, the British influence, and counteract, by every means in my power, these insidious attempts to extend, at our expense, the influence of other nations.]

Camp near Jalalabad,
9 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

* [The letters brought by him from the Shah had reference to attacking Herat, and inviting aid : they have been sent to Government.]

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 31st of July last, making me acquainted with the views of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, regarding an adjustment of the differences between the Sikhs and Afghans, and the anxious wish of his Lordship to bring them, if possible, to a happy termination without involving the British Government.

2. In my letter of the 22d ultimo, from Peshawur, I briefly stated the impression which was current, that the Maharaja would shortly seek to manage Peshawur by means of Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and the correspondence which Captain Wade has sent me serves fully to confirm the rumour that Runjeet Singh entertains some such mode of adjustment, and my communication of yesterday will even show that he has intimated such a plan to the Chief of Candahar.

3. As I am still eight or ten days' march from Cabool, it is not yet in my power to communicate the sentiments of the Ameer; but it will be my most anxious study to moderate his views in every way that lies in my power. Looking as I do upon the disposition of Maharaja Runjeet Sing to withdraw from Peshawur, and to make any such settlement as contemplated as the most cordial proof of his sincerity to see peace established, and to conciliate the British Government, I shall, if the subject becomes one of discussion, point out the manifold benefits likely to result from it to Dost Mahomed Khan, and from his state of mind I do not think I shall do so in vain, since Peshawur, if restored even on an enhanced tribute to any of the Barukzye family, is a voluntary sacrifice of what is by conquest the right and possession of the Lahore Chief.

4. I am happy to report that time seems to have worked a satisfactory change in the mind of the Ameer of Cabool, and that the elation at his success in Jamrood has been much moderated by the reflection that no substantial result has followed from it, and that if the Sikhs prosecute the war, he must be involved in expenses which, even if successful in repelling their attacks, will embarrass him. He seems, therefore, most anxiously to wait our arrival at his capital, and I believe that he is sincere in seeking for counsel to guide him in his difficulties. If Captain Wade therefore succeeds in persuading the Maharaja, I do not doubt of a corresponding success in Cabool.

5. In a paper which I forward by this packet, on "the political power of the Sikhs west of the Indus," his Lordship in council will be made acquainted with the difficulties which the Sikhs encounter in Peshawur, all of which must induce Runjeet to seek some other settlement than the present. If it were possible, it would be impolitic at this time to surrender Peshawur to the Chief of Cabool; and though Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan is restored to the chiefship, it appears to me as likely to induce the Maharaja to an early settlement, if it were suggested to him still to garrison the fort of Peshawur (the Bala Hissar), and receive the tribute through his detachment, which would save the Maharaja's honour if he thought his generosity likely to be misconstrued. The possession of Peshawur by this branch of the Barukzye family would increase British influence in this quarter, give satisfaction at Candahar, and though it might not at first please the Ameer of Cabool, he would concur in it, for he never can seize Peshawur as now situated, and would then find himself freed from the threats of opponents to his religion and power. A reconciliation with the Sikhs on terms so advantageous to both parties, without a compromise of the honour of either, would, in the end, fix Dost Mahomed Khan as the friend of the British Government, and also gain for it a high reputation among the people west of the Indus, whose feelings are greatly mixed up in the existing differences.

6. Under these circumstances I shall await with anxiety the report of Captain Wade's communications with the Maharaja, on which this important question now rests.

I have, &c.

Camp near Sussued Koh,
10 September 1837.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabul.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, dated the 31st of July last and the 1st ultimo, reporting your progress towards Cabool, and the circumstances attending it.

2. I am, in the first place, desired to convey to you his Lordship in Council's entire approbation of the judgment and zeal manifested by you in all your proceedings already reported.

3. For your information and guidance, I am desired to annex copies of paragraphs 3 to 6, and 11 to the end of a letter, this day written by order of his Lordship in Council to the political agent at Loodiana.

4. The very important intelligence contained in your letter of the 1st ultimo has induced the Governor General in Council to alter, in some measure, the views under which your deputation to Cabool was originally designed.

5. That a Persian elchee has arrived (accompanied by a member of the Candahar family), is nearly certain. It appears probable, from the tenor of Abdool Samads' letter, that you will have a difficult duty to perform under the circumstances by which Dost Mahomed will be surrounded. The quiet and unassuming character given at the outset to your mission will, owing to recent events, be very much changed; and instead of your being merely the bearer of an invitation to the Amcer of general friendship, and for a more free and cordial intercourse in matters of commerce, you may be looked for as an arbiter of peace, and possibly as a supporter of extravagant pretensions.

6. It might have been well, perhaps, if under existing circumstances you had in the first instance rather visited Candahar and Herat than Cabool, but it might bear the character of instability of purpose if your course were now changed, even were it not too late to do so; and supposing you to have arrived at Cabool, it is evident that you cannot confine yourself, in the existing state of excitement, to matters of a commercial nature.

7. It is not the intention of the Governor General in Council to invest you with any direct political power, beyond that of transmitting any proposition which may appear to you to be reasonable through Captain Wade to your own Government.

8. You are authorised, however, whenever an opportunity shall be afforded to you, to communicate, without reserve, with Dost Mahomed upon his actual position, and to point out the light in which that position is considered by the Governor General in Council; our desire to see established the peace and security and independence of his dominions, and our regret to find him exposed to the hazards of war on one side, and excited to restlessness by interference and worthless promises on the other; that, under any circumstances, our first feeling must be that of regard for the honour and just wishes of our old and firm ally Runjeet Singh; that if, however, he looked for terms of peace adapted to a fair measure of his position, such good offices in his favour with the Maharajah as we can render would be given to him; but that if he received with favour every emissary and every proposition, the avowed object of which was to foment disturbances even at the hazard of his own independence, it is impossible but that the friendly feelings of the British Government must be impaired.

9. You will be careful, if you should come in contact with the Persian envoy, so to temper the personal civility and respect with which you will treat him, as to admit no claim of undue importance, and you will at once state to Dost Mahomed that we cannot recognise a right in the Shah of Persia to interfere in any way in his transactions with the Sikh or British Government; you will take care to show to him, in the strongest light, how utterly vain must be his hopes of assistance from the Persian Government, the resources of which are inadequate for the purposes of its own government.

10. It is possible that these representations may have but little effect at the present moment, and it will be for you, upon a review of the influence which you are likely to gain upon passing events, to decide upon the propriety of prolonging your stay at Cabool.

11. If your stay can be prolonged with propriety, it is obvious that the information which you may be able to collect of the power, the means, and the state of parties in that country, cannot but be useful.

12. You will, of course, deem it your duty to discourage all extravagant pretensions

pretensions on the part of Dost Mahomed. In the present state of his information, his Lordship in Council would be inclined to think that, if Peshawur were restored to any of the members of the Barukzye family on the condition of tribute to Runjeet Singh, the terms would be as favourable as any that could be expected; and if Dost Mahomed, rejecting all attempts at drawing him into an alliance with Persia, should consent to the restoration of permanent tranquillity on this basis, and the tenor of your information from Captain Wade be such as to confirm you in this course (for your communications will, of course, be much influenced by the reports which you will receive from that officer), you are authorized to state that you will recommend to your Government the support of such an arrangement, in the manner which shall be most conducive to the honour and interests of all parties; but you should apprize the Ameer that the cultivation of all alliance with powers to the westward must cease, as the indispensable condition of our friendly intervention.

13. You will forward any proposition of this nature that may be made through Lieutenant Mackeson (should he be still at Peshawur) to Captain Wade, and it will be for Captain Wade to decide whether or no it may be advisable to communicate on the subject with the Maharaja previously to obtaining the instructions of his Lordship in Council. As our guarantee will not be given, the delay would hardly seem to be required.

14. As your ulterior proceedings must be altogether guided by the nature of your reception at Cabool, his Lordship in Council feels unable to furnish you with any specific instructions for your guidance beyond that point; but you have full authority to proceed to Candahar and Herat, should you be of opinion that your presence in those countries would have the effect of counteracting Persian intrigues, and of promoting the general tranquillity of the countries bordering on the Indus.

15. A copy of this letter will be sent to the Envoy in Persia for his information.

Fort William,
11 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to Government of India.

(No. 16.)

From Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

I HASTEN to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that I have just received a messenger from Herat, announcing that Shah Kamran has tendered his homage to the Shah of Persia, and sent 15 good horses, with 25 Cashmere shawls, to Tehran, in charge of Futteh Mahomed Khan, the nephew of his minister, Yar Mahomed.

2. The individual who has communicated the above information leads me to entertain no doubt of its authenticity. It comes from the secretary (Meerza) of Deen Mahomed Khan, who is also a nephew of the minister of Shah Kamran.

3. This intelligence would not appear to be known at Cabool; but it appears to me that when fully confirmed, the effect of it may prove favourable to the British Government, both at Candahar and Cabool. If, however, the chiefs of these provinces do in sincerity seek to form connexions with Persia, the result may be directly opposite. I do not apprehend that Herat could at present strike of itself any blow to the eastward; but if it becomes the frontier city of Persia, that power, aided by her allies, might certainly excite disturbance in this quarter.

Boothhak,
One march from Cabool,
18 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

P. S.—To prevent accidents, I enclose a duplicate of my communication of the 9th instant, regarding the affairs of Candahar.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.
(A true copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Dy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov.-Genl.

(No. 17.)

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that we reached Cabool on the morning of the 20th instant; were conducted into the city by Sirdar Mahomed Akber Khan, with great demonstrations of respect and joy, and immediately on our arrival presented to the Ameer, whose reception was of the most gratifying nature. After the interview, we were conducted by the Ameer's son to a spacious garden in the Bala Hissar, which had been prepared for us, and where we are now residing.

2. On the following day I had the honour to deliver my letter of credentials, which the Ameer received in a very flattering manner, with many expressions of his high sense of the great honour which had been conferred on him, in his at last having had the means of communication with an officer of the British Government, for which he felt deeply grateful to the Governor General.

3. Up to this time my communications with the Ameer have been confined to matters of compliment and ceremony; but I shall take an early opportunity of reporting on what transpires at this court, merely observing at present, from what I have seen and heard, that I have good reason to believe Dost Mahomed Khan will set forth no extravagant pretensions, and act in such a manner as will enable the British Government to show its interest in his behalf, and at the same time preserve for us the valued friendship of the Seikh Chief.

Cabool,
24 September 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

1866 (True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Dy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov. Genl.

(No. 29.)

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

[I HAVE the honour to submit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, a report of what has taken place since my arrival at this capital on the 20th ultimo; and, while it is my intention to lay open, as far as I have it in my power, the tone and temper of the chief, and the state of this country, and those adjacent to it, I shall necessarily confine myself to an outline, leaving for future notice various matters which still engage attention.]

2. On the afternoon of the 24th I was invited to the Bala Hissar, and being conducted into the interior of the harem, found the Ameer and his favourite son, Mahomed Akber Khan, without any of the chiefs, secretaries or attendants. The interview lasted till midnight, dinner being meanwhile served up; and I had an opportunity of conversing at length with Dost Mahomed Khan.

3. At the outset I proceeded to unfold to him in great detail the motives which led the British Government to direct its attention to the River Indus, and the countries bordering on it. I dwelt upon the prosperous trade which had once run in the direction of its course, and the many facilities which it had been found to present to the trader to transport his goods by it in preference to land routes; and, in addition to all, explained the treaties which we had formed with the rulers upon it; the light tolls leviable; the certain protection to property which they insured, superintended as was the navigation by British agents; and, finally, since the River Indus leads to the great commercial city of Cabool, and the marts beyond Hindoo Koosh, the British Government sought, in an extension and encouragement of the trade, not any selfish object, but, on the contrary, saw an advancement of the ends of others as well as of itself, and the strongest motives for stimulating the Ameer of Cabool and all other chiefs to associate themselves with us in promoting this trade, since increased consumption would be productive of increased revenues, and the direct advantage was not only apparent, but immediate.

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4. Dost Mahomed Khan listened with great attention to what had been said; assured me that no one did or could enter more readily into the views which the British Government held than himself, for he had the fortunate experience to discover that, by protecting the merchant, the returns of his custom-house had gone on increasing, and were in a state of improvement at this hour; and the Government of India might therefore rely with every confidence on his cordial co-operation in any measures which tended to promote the trade to Cabool and Toorkistan, and that he would instruct all the merchants and hindoos to communicate with me, and also to make them acquainted with the enlightened protection they would experience in passing to India, and with the new routes which, by our fostering care, they might bring their goods to a market.

5. But, said the Ameer, "I am involved in difficulties which are very prejudicial to commerce; my hostilities with the Sikhs narrow my resources, compel me to take up money from merchants, and to even increase the duties to support the expenses of war. These are the shifts to which I am driven for seeking to preserve my honour. While we were engaged in resisting Shooja ool Moolk, at Candahar, the city of Peshawar was seized from our family, and I had the mortification to discover among the papers of the ex-king, after his defeat, a treaty that made Peshawar the reward of the Sikhs' aid to hurl me and mine from authority. [Providence and the sword enabled us to resist a monarch who in such an alliance had disgraced the name of a Dooranee; and Peshawar I have since considered lost, and looked with shame on my brothers, their wives and children being at the mercy of idolaters. Crushed as they are,] I was yet left; but when Runjeet Singh's officers planted a fort near the Khyber Pass, my existence was endangered; I resisted, and here also with success, [since Huree Singh, the inveterate hater of the name of Mahomedan, was slain]"

6. I was not unprepared for the irritation of the Ameer on the late events which have transpired in this quarter, and, as the best means of allaying such feelings, I thought it advisable to give a ready ear to what was urged, since I might by argument and advice do the chief service, and combat some of the positions which he had taken up. I admitted, therefore, that it was undoubtedly true that war produced the evils of which he complained, and crippled his power, but I strongly urged him to reflect on the uselessness of seeking to contend with so potent a prince as Maharaja Runjeet Singh. I stated the revenue of that chief, the great abilities which he possessed, the riches at his command, the fine army which he could bring into the field, the hopelessness of warring with him, and the injuries which he inflicted on himself and his people by allowing himself to be drawn into hostilities; and though the fortune of war had of late granted success to his arms, and his formidable opponent Huree Singh was no more, I could assure him, as a well-wisher, that he was contending with a power which he could not resist, and that it would be prudent to seek for such an adjustment of differences as would preserve his own reputation and that of his countrymen.

7. The Ameer bore at once the most ready testimony to the power and abilities of Runjeet Singh, and after various questions as to my own impressions regarding the Punjab as a State, said it was too true that he could not attack such an adversary, [though the Maharaja had gathered strength solely from the family differences of the chiefs, and it might yet be reduced by the exertions of the Afghans. "The people west of the Indus," said he, "hate the Sikhs for the oppression which they have experienced at their hands. for the barbarous interference with the practice of their religion, which of itself secured friends that could not otherwise be reckoned upon when an attack was contemplated on Runjeet Singh.] My sons and people may speak in exaggerated strains of our late success; but it is too evident, however, that our power is not one-tenth of that of the Punjab; and, instead of renewing such conflicts, it would be a source of real gratification if the British Government would counsel me how to act; none of our other neighbours can avail me, and, in return, I would pledge myself to forward its commercial and its political views."

8. I assured the Ameer that I heard these sentiments with extreme satisfaction, for it had gone abroad that his conclusions from late events were otherwise, and I had only, as a well-wisher, set before him the true power of Runjeet Singh, and from his own observations, it appeared to me I could not have overrated it, [since the admission of the Maharaja's being able to interrupt the Maho-

medan in his devotions, however impolitic it might be, afforded the clearest proof of the formidable strength which he possessed even on this side of the Indus]. I could, however, assure him that the British Government warmly interested itself in the preservation of peace, and wished well to both parties; that in Maharaja Runjeet Singh it recognized, and that, too, publicly, an old and valued ally, and in the Ameer himself it saw a ruler who was anxious to promote the commercial prosperity of his country, and consequently of his neighbours; and that though I myself had been deputed here not to adjust political differences, it would be indeed gratifying if I could do anything towards an end so desirable as a peace, which would not only save the further loss of human life, but promote the good of all parties; but, without an exact knowledge of the Ameer's sentiments on all points, my advice would not only be useless, but probably prejudicial.

9. Dost Mahomed Khan now entered upon the affairs of his own government, ran over the history of the Dooranee kingdom, expatiating on its power, which extended from Meshid and Cashmeer, and, pointing to the house in which he sat, said that "this is the whole share of that vast empire which has fallen to me, and I cannot, therefore, be indifferent to the honour of having communication with an agent of the British Government, nor to seeking, by every means I can, to interest it in my behalf. The treaties which have been made with the powers on the Indus are the best proofs of your sincerity in the objects which have led the government to depute you to Cabool, and [it is publicly stated throughout the whole of Khorasan that you have saved Shikarpore from the aggressions of the Sikhs; and the same motives which led to that measure will, I hope, induce you, for some similar consideration,] to interfere in the affairs of Peshawar and Cabool."

10. I did not conceal from the Ameer that we had sought to preserve peace along the line of the Indus, and that we had used our influence to prevent its being disturbed, and had happily succeeded; but I could assure him that we had done it to promote commercial views, without receiving any consideration, and that the current rumours regarding the cession of Shikarpore to us were incorrect, and likewise that we had come to a perfect understanding with Maharaja Runjeet Singh, and that the friendship of the British Government for that personage was greater than ever. I here drew a broad line of distinction between the affairs of Shikarpore and Peshawar; pointed out that the one was a possession of the Ameers of Sind, while Peshawar was an undoubted conquest of the Sikhs made by the sword, preserved by it, and to interfere with which would be a violation of justice and the integrity of Runjeet Singh's dominions. I continued, however, that there was a rumour very current in Peshawar, and which has also reached me, that the Maharaja intended to make some change in the management of Peshawar, but that it sprung from himself, and not the British Government.

11. The Ameer said that he had also heard similar reports, and asked if I knew the arrangements; for Peshawar could be of no value to the Sikhs, and must indeed cause great expense. I stated my ignorance of the plans of Runjeet Singh; but it appeared a probable enough arrangement, since his Highness had granted large jagheers to Sooltan Mahomed Khan and his brothers; that he contemplated the restoration of the whole country to that branch of his family, under certain restrictions. I said that I spoke without definite information, and not from any indifference on the part of the British Government, which would rejoice to see a change that terminated the present state of constant war in Peshawar, and I even believed that if Runjeet Singh sought of himself to change his policy in that quarter, the Government would be glad to use its good offices to both parties if it saw any prospect of their being useful, but that it was now needless to say more without certain information, though the supposed intentions of the Maharaja ought to afford the Ameer subject for consideration, and might probably lead him to devise some satisfactory means of reconciliation with the Sikhs. With these observations, our private conversation ended by Dost Mahomed Khan's stating that he would take an early opportunity of again seeing me.

12. The Ameer on this, invited in Mirza Sumee Khan and Mirza Iwam Verdi, who are the principal secretaries of himself and his son, and without entering into any minute particulars, sketched out what had passed between us, and called for dinner, during, and after which, he entered upon many subjects, and
among

among others on his connexion with Persia [to which I shall only allude briefly, as I am preparing a report on Kuzzilbash influence in this quarter].

13. He stated with considerable candour the whole circumstances regarding it, declared that he had sought with ardour the friendship of the British Government from its being his neighbour, but he had sought in vain, and hearing of the power of Persia, and the designs towards Khorassan, he had addressed Mahomed Shā, and an elchee was now at Candahar, bringing robes for him and his brother, with a valuable dagger and a promise of assistance in a crore of rupees. Since the conversation was not of my asking, I did not hesitate to enter upon it, and asked if he placed reliance on the aid of Persia, and on the large pecuniary assistance which had been promised, and he at once assured me that he did not [though he had understood Futteh Ali Shā to have had considerable treasure, and had heard much of the power of Persia and Russia. I explained to him very succinctly the nature of things in Persia, the state of the army in that country, and with regard to its revenues I sent him a document extracted from Mr. Bailie Fraser's work, which in 1821, before it had been further reduced by Russia, fixes its net revenues at about a million and a half of pounds sterling, which I did not fail to contrast with the revenues of India and Great Britain, and even with those of Runjeet Singh].

14. On the 26th and 28th the Ameer came over in person to visit us, accompanied by many of the persons about his court, and without entering on the subjects above treated on, discoursed on many matters of general interest; recurring, however, in both visits to Persia, for which he now either possesses or feigns to possess no good feeling, speaking contemptuously of the late campaign in Khorasan. He also asked of me the relations between the British Government and Russia: the influence of Russia over the dominions of Turkey, and spoke of the control which Russia exercised over the trade in Toorkistan.

15. [On the 29th I had a visit from the Nawab Jabbar Khan, who stated in great formality, and I am sure, in great sincerity, his devotion to the British Government, and his readiness to aid it in any measures which it contemplated in this quarter. His brother had made him privy to all that had passed on the evening of the 24th; and recurring to the rumours in circulation about Peshawar, he trusted the British Government would do something in it which would be hailed with joy by all Mahomedans. The Nawab is most favourably disposed to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and no man would rejoice more than him if that district could be, on any terms, restored to him.

16. At this interview the Nawab, in reply to my questions regarding the Persian elchee and the late communications with that country, averred that he had himself written to the Shah, however contradictory it may seem to his devotion to the British Government, and that he did so, in common with others, because the British Government had exhibited no interest in their affairs. The object of the connexion was aid against the Sikhs—for this, he said, we are to assist Persia against Herat, and to receive pecuniary aid in return, an arrangement that has been chiefly promoted by the Russian minister (Wuzeeri Mookhtar) at Tehran. I content myself with recording this conversation.

17. After several visits from Mirza Sumee Khan, who is really the man of most influence in Dost Mahomed Khan's court, and hearing from him various communications,] I was again invited last night to the Bala Hissar, where I met the Nuwab, and had further and long conversation with Dost Mahomed Khan. I soon found that he had something to communicate which interested him; and after stating at some length how anxiously he himself desired to see his differences with the Sikhs terminated, said, that if I advised it, he would send a son to Lahore to ask Maharajah Runjeet Sing's forgiveness for what had passed, and if he would consent to give up Peshawar to him he would hold it tributary to Lahore, send the requisite presents of horses and rice, and in all things consider himself in that part of his dominions as holding under Lahore.

18. On hearing the conclusion which he had come to, I asked him if his countrymen might not consider he had gone too far in his conciliation of the Sikh chieftain, but he did not consider such an arrangement would be viewed in that light, particularly as the homage which he agreed to render for Peshawar did not affect his other dominions. I here stated that he had brothers in Peshawar whose condition he must compassionate, and if Peshawar were restored to them his reputation would be widely spread in this country, since the world would give him credit for having had some share in the transaction.

Dost Mahomed Khan declared, that he would guarantee to Runjeet Singh or to the British Government the jagheers which his brothers now enjoyed, but that Peshawar might as well continue in the hands of the Sikhs as in those of Sultan Mahomed Khan, or it would never otherwise be believed that Maharaja Runjeet Singh had withdrawn from the countries westward of the Indus. The Maharaja's often expressed wish to have horses and tribute from him would, he was sure, prove a great inducement to his highness to hand over Peshawar to him, as he had never before paid him tribute, and Sultan Mahomed Khan had long been his servant.

19. [In my letter of the 10th of September, I stated the views which occurred to me on the receipt of your communication of the 31st of July last, regarding the advisability of restoring Sultan Mahomed Khan to the government of Peshawar, and the various advantages attendant upon the arrangement. I did not at that time contemplate that Dost Mahomed Khan and his advisers would come to the conclusion now reported,] nor am I aware how far this offer proceeds from a hope of future aggrandizement, or an intention to injure the Peshawar branch of his family, but it is now sufficient to report the sum of his views and wishes. By some these offers may be construed merely into a specious kind of moderation, by others they may be hailed as sincere proofs of the Ameer's desire to terminate his differences with the Sikhs; but whether Runjeet Singh's policy suggests or not a compliance with them, they certainly show that Dost Mahomed Khan is not likely to enter upon any aggressive measures, notwithstanding the vaunts of his people regarding the late battle at Jamrood.

20. With reference to the chief of Cabool individually, I see little change in him since my visit to this country in 1832. Since then he has added Jalalabad to his country, and the most important change in his administration is the investiture of five of his sons in different governments, a policy which cannot be condemned, and, if he can succeed in it, will certainly contribute to the stability of his government. With some, and perhaps they are the majority of his subjects, his wars with the Sikhs have gained him applause; but with one party, and that by far the most worthy of conciliation, the wealthy and mercantile classes, his campaigns have been viewed in a different light, and given great dissatisfaction.

21. [I have forwarded a copy of this communication to Captain Wade for his notice and information.]

Cabool, 5 October 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Dep. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

Captain *Burnes* to Secretary to Government of India.

Sir,

Cabool, 7 October 1837.

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Hon. the Governor General of India in Council, a "Sketch of the Khyber Pass," with an "explanatory description" by Lieutenant Leech.

2. The great importance of this mountain tract, in a military point of view, being, as it is, the principal pass into India, will, I respectfully believe, enhance the value of Lieutenant Leech's labours in the opinion of his Lordship in Council.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*.

DESCRIPTION of the Khyber Pass and of the Tribes inhabiting it (to accompany the Survey), by Lieutenant *R. Leech*, of the Bombay Engineers.

THIS pass would always be the doorway, or rather more appropriately the keyhole of either Hindoostan or Afghanistan, according as either opposite party had a secure possession. It would not, however, long be kept shut by the latter, as it now is, if any other
Hindoosta

Hindoostan power, holding the advanced position the Sikhs now have, were to apply the infallible golden key; but, owing to an unfortunate policy pursued by the latter, of non-toleration towards their Mussulman subjects, the minds of all the neighbouring Mahomedan nations are inflamed with such an implacable hatred towards them, not only because in their eyes they are infidels, but because they are active as persecutors of the "true religion," that they would refuse the most splendid offers for that passage, which they might not be paid for keeping by their own rulers.

The pass extends from a collection of caves called Kadam, three miles south-east of the fort of Fattchabad, lately built by the Sikhs, which again is nine miles west of Peshawur to within seven miles and a half of Duka opposite to Lalpoor, on the Cabool river, a distance of 24 miles. These seven and a half miles I have not included in the pass, as the road, though not through a plain is no longer confined by perpendicular commanding heights. Like all roads over ranges of mountains, this one is chiefly the bed of a torrent liable to be filled by a sudden fall of rain, but at other times dry, with the exception of a winding rill supplied by springs disappearing sometimes under the sand and gravel, and again appearing from a side defile running from side to side of the pass in zigzags when it is narrow, and where it is broad and straight, keeping to each side, leaving the centre covered with brushwood. The roughness or smoothness of the road, will, of course, depend on the nature of the mountains through which it passes, and on the fall of the stream; a greater fall bringing down larger stones in the same rock, and a more brittle rock forming finer gravel and a smoother bed with the same fall. The facilities of a pass for mercantile communication or the disadvantages for military defence are:—1st. Though not a mercantile facility, a decided advantage for military defence, viz., inconsiderable heights; for when high in the extreme the road becomes out of musket shot, as is the case at the fort of Aly Musjid. 2d. Few descents. 3d. Width. 4th. Smoothness of roadway. 5th. Few ascents. The reason for regarding descent in a pass of such importance is that there is much greater difficulty in bringing guns down than in taking them up a winding hilly road; for, although each if possible should have as many men either way, yet, unless a pole instead of drag-ropes were used, the same number would not be able to act in the latter case. A gun descends with its own weight, and when in motion in one direction can with difficulty be turned to follow a winding-road with a reduced complement of men. A steep descent is more difficult to be got over than a narrow road, which, however, is seldom so much so as to prevent one gun and a file of men on each side at the wheels to pass; for, as will be seen, on looking at Section No. 19, width may be gained by filling up the narrow defile a few feet, and there are few passes in existence where such extreme narrowness would extend for many yards. A steep descent is, moreover, a greater difficulty than a rough road, for the latter might be overcome in many ways; 1st, by a number of bags carried by the men, to be filled with gravel or sand, and placed, so as to form rails for the two wheels for a short distance; and there is not so much trouble as is generally supposed in making a road covered with large loose stones, a good gun-road, for little time would be required to clear spaces for the wheels, and no labour would be necessary in the line of the mules, which would probably be the beasts of draught in this country, on account of their sureness of foot. Roads or footpaths parallel to the principal pass would be of great service to a body forcing its passage: quite the contrary is to be said of cross roads, which would only be of service to the party opposing such passage. In forcing a pass, opposition would only be found at certain stages; for men collected on the detached heights could not keep up with the body below in the road, so as to continue annoying their flanks. The extreme inequality in the numbers of parties attacking and those defending a pass, when the latter are said to have been successful, have, I should think, been greatly exaggerated in most cases, not excepting the famous Pass of Thermopylae, which however is an example of what advantage parallel roads are to an army forcing the principal one.

The pass of Khyber runs through slate, and throughout its length assumes three different characteristics; first, a flat road between two scarps, not so much varying in perpendicularity as in height, and covered with loose stones and gravel, coarser as the bed approaches the sources of the stream; 2nd, a steep road much narrowed and very winding, cut up by protruding pieces of rock, and slippery: the most difficult portion, abounding in natural obstacles and facilities for the party on the defensive; 3rd, a made road running down the side of a steep hill, safe, except where the small rivulets have been blocked up, which, if not kept in constant repair, would be very dangerous points. At Kadam the pass commences; from this place the Khybarees have diverted the water (whose natural course is by the small hills to the south of Jamrood) round by the base of those to the north, held by their own people. The Sikhs holding Jamrood and Fattchabad lose men daily at this place in trying to break down the embankments, 2½ miles from Kadam, and half a mile beyond Jobgai, where the road narrows, as shown in Section No. 3, the stream above-mentioned is seen coming from the south-west from a place called Badkee, three kos distant in that direction, the residence of Malak Savz Aly Khan, son of Kamar Khan, of the Ustooze Khel of Orukzais. At this place, where the road no longer follows the course of the water, and immediately after passing the first gorge (Tungee) in the pass, there is an open space of one tenth of a square mile in area, from thence on to Tungee, a gorge called so, *par excellence*, by the natives, a distance of 3½ miles, where a footpath from Jamrood joins the principal road, the pass presents the different appearances shown in Sections 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. The stream springing out of the rocks at Katá Kubatá disappears under the gravel and sand, a mile before its juncture with the stream from Badkee. This Tungee extends for three quarters of a mile, and meets a denle coming from south-west, from a place called Kaidaree, 1½ mile distant

distant on the Afreedee road. From this juncture the road turns to the north and north-north-east, and assumes the profiles represented in Sections 10 to 14, when after a further length of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, it reaches the foot of Aly Musjid, the appearance of which, approaching from Peshawur, is shown in the accompanying sketch. This fort, so called from a mosque in the neighbourhood now in ruins, is of mud, and has been only a few years erected; during the late engagements with the Sikhs, it had a garrison of 200 rudely disciplined men, and 200 Jazalchees. It is situated at too great a height to be of much service in stopping a force passing below, while, at the same time, the steepness of the hill, on which it is built, would be a great obstacle to the same force storming it, which would be absolutely necessary to secure the passage of the main body or baggage in safety. It is not supplied with water, and the garrison is obliged to descend to the rill below for it. There is no cover for the men inside, and the walls seldom withstand the casual showers of rain that fall here. Immediately after passing the fort the road narrows excessively, as shown in Section 15, and the bed is formed of projecting and slippery pieces of rock; $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile further on is the village of Katá Kubatá, or Katá Kushtá, as some call it, where the stream just past, has its rise. Two miles further on the pass opens out, at a place called Shpolá, the commencement of the plain of Lalabeg, up to which place the appearance of road is as in Sections 16 and 17. The plain extends for six miles to the top of the descent called Landee Khána. In this distance there are no springs, but tanks to collect the rain water, which supply the inhabitants of Lalabeg. In this plain the Maliks of the Khyber tribes have each a tower, which have more the appearance of chimneys to potteries than places calculated for military defence. The plain averages a mile and a quarter in breadth, and into it, from the north, runs a plain of the Shanwarces, in which is situated the village of Luadgai, whence a cross road leads to the Tatara pass. For the next three quarters of a mile from the top of Landee Khána is the most difficult part of the pass; a steep narrow rugged descent is represented in Sections 18 and 19. Guns could not be drawn here but by men, and not then without temporarily repairing the road. The next three quarters of a mile is an ascent along a made road in good repair, whence into the plain is a descent along the side of a hill of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the top of which hill would be an admirable position for a fort, which could enfilade with the most destructive effect both the road from Duka and that from Lalabeg, but this position has escaped the eyes of the rulers of Afghanistan. Indeed, a view of the entire pass, and the means adopted for making it a barrier to an invading force, would serve to convince any one passing through that Dost Mohamad does not regard it as a possession of the importance which is attached to it by the world, or perhaps he relies too much on its natural strength. From the fort of Landee Khána on to Duká, a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the road is comparatively through a plain, and presents no difficulties of a pass.

There are three other passes which are connected with this one, inasmuch as a simultaneous passage would most likely be attempted by an invading force through more than one.

1st. *The Tatara Pass*, as follows:

Peshawur Jawara Mena, nine kos, the latter two very steep, 40 houses, spring of water, inhabited by Malagoorees, 300 in number, of whom the Khybarees stand in great dread.

Two villages called Shalmán, seven kos, 25 houses, springs of water, Momand inhabitants. This stage is so difficult at some places that horsemen are obliged to dismount.

Here the road divides into two, the left joins the Khyber Pass at Luadgai, and the right goes to Duká; seven kos, inhabited by Momunds under Sadat Khan, who resides at Lalpoor. This stage is a descent of great difficulty.

Peer Mahomad Khan led 3,000 men with some camel swivel guns by this road to assist Sultan Mahomad Khan and Yar Mahomad Khan. A toll is taken at present and divided among the tribes on the road of one rupee for a camel or a horseman, and eight annas for a foot passenger.

2d. *The Kadapa Pass*.

Peshawur Shabkadar; 10 kos, a plain, three ferries, viz., Adezai Shalam and Mewdee, a large town and fort mounting two guns and garrisoned by 500 Sikhs, containing a fine well. Here the Indee river from Swat discharges itself.

Muidákhánd; three kos, a stage.

The Kadapá Hill.

Gandav; three kos, a small village with wells and a running stream; the neighbourhood inhabited by Alamzais, 3,000 in number under Anwar Khan. A toll is levied of two rupees each horseman, three rupees each camel with a load or a khajawah, and eight annas a foot passenger.

Attar Jod; five kos a stage, scattered huts of the Alamzais, and tank water. Here the road separates; the right, which is a gun road, goes by Moosá Jod to Goshtá; the left, which is not, goes to Lalpoor, a distance of seven kos.

This road is not so difficult as the Tátará one. Azeem Khan, with an army of 12,000 Duranees, passed this road.

3d. *The Abhaná Pass*.

Peshawur Michnee; eight kos on the other side of the river, by a ferry of rafts.

Hydar Khan; three kos on the Cabool river, after crossing which,

Little Duka; five kos. A Caffila road, but difficult for the two last stages, horsemen being sometimes obliged to alight in that distance; the road held by Momands.

1st. A footpath leading from Janrood to Tungee.

2d. The

2d. The Bagadee pass, the first gorge or tungee of which situated to the north of Jamrood they call Kafar Tungee; next comes the Shádee gorge, and then the Bagadee one, which leads to the foot of Aly Musjid; the whole distance is nine miles. It is a gun road, for guns were taken by Shah Zamán by it; laden camels also go by this road. Between Shadee and Bagadee, the road required on the above occasion to be levelled with small stones in Kafar Tungee; on the right are some houses of the Abdal Khel Kukheekels, and on the left at a place called Sirkai are the Mashoo Khels.

3d. From Shalmán, on the Tátára, and to Luadgai, a distance of three kos, inhabited by Peerookhel, Khuga Khel and Meedad Khel, Shanwarees.

4th. The Afreedee road from Terrá, meeting the Khyber pass at Tungee, Aly Musjid, and Lalák, sometimes called Lala Cheenâ.

Two kos from Tungee is a place called Haidaree, inhabited by Paindee Lakakhels, three kos thence is Bazár to the right of which are the Saroghee Lakakhels as far as a place called Bazár Ka Cheenâ, and to the left are the Annee Lakakhels as far as Halwai, a distance of three kos, thence 1½ kos is a place called Bárâ, of the Lakakhels. Alládád Khan and Faiztallab Khan, his nephew, live here, they belong to the Meeree Khel. The other divisions of the Lakakhels are the Pindée Khels, Annee Khels, Soraghee Khels, Zarooddeen Khels, Shan Khels and Pakhee Khels, thence into Teerâ, is a distance of 14 kos without habitations on the road. The Afreedees live at some distance to the right and left. These Khels and Zais among the Pathans are like our families in England. I was once informed that Khel was a more general term than Zai, which in Pashtoo signifies a collected body, and that the former was derived from the father and the latter from the mother, but I have had reason since to doubt the correctness of the information.

5th. There is a road called the Dád Ghálá Road, that branches off between Bazár and Chorá (from which latter place there is a cut into Khyber at Lalak, difficult for laden camels, though they can go), and leads to Dur Bábi's shrine, a distance of seven kos; twelve kos beyond which, is Pesh Bulák, inhabited by Malagooorees, who are all muleteers.

6th. There is a footpath from Pesh Bulák to Lalabeg. The tribes inhabiting the pass, and thence called Khybarrees, are Shanwarees and Afreedees. The former are divided into Peeroo Khels, Khuga Khels, Meedad Khels and Ghance Khels; the latter into Kukeek Khels, Laka Khels, Malak Deen Khels, Sepá and Kamar Khels. The Kukeek Khels are again subdivided into Sherkhan Khels, Mashoo Khels, Abdal Khels, Katee Khels (notorious cheats), Tor Khels (good swordsmen), and Sikandar Khels. The Momands inhabiting the other passes are divided into Binbán Khels, Alang Zais, Trag Zais, Bazais Khwazais, Kudá Khels, Mocha Khels, Hasn Zais, and Hazar Boos. There are said to be 40,000 houses of Afreedees; this must be a gross exaggeration, unless it be a muster of the whole tribe, in or out of the pass, 3,000 of which there are of the Kukeek Khels. The Malaks of the Kukheek Khels are Abdal Rahman and Jangee, both of the Sher Khan Khel; they hold the pass from Jamrood to Lalak; they could muster 2,000 matchlocks and jazals. From Lalak to Katá Kulárá and Lalábeg are the Lala Khels; thence into the south of Daeca, which belongs to the Momands, are the Shanwarees. There are 18,000 Momands under Sadát Khan, who resides at Lalpoor, and 7,000 under Khalid Khan, who resides at Goshtá.

There are seven tolls in Khyber; four belonging to the Afreedees and three to the Shanwarees, who divide the collections equally.

- 1st toll, at Kadam of the Kukeek Khels.
- 2d " at the same place of the Sapas.
- 3d " at Aly Masjid, collected by Khan Bahadur of the Malak Deen Khel.
- 4th " at Shpola, by Alládád Khán and Faiztallab Khan.
- 5th " by Khuza Khels -
- 6th " by Peeroo Khels - } taken on the top of Landee Khánâ.
- 7th " Meedad Khels - }

The sums levied for the whole of Khyber are as follows:

A camel laden with cloth, or a khajawah -	-	-	-	-	5 rupees.
Ditto - with grocery -	-	-	-	-	3 "
A horseman -	-	-	-	-	3 "
A Hindoo foot passenger -	-	-	-	-	1½ "
A Masalman ditto, or unladen camel -	-	-	-	-	1½ "
A load of leather -	-	-	-	-	2 "
A load of salt -	-	-	-	-	1 "

In the time of the kings the Maliks of Khyber received the following sums:

Abdal Rahman's ancestors, Kukee Khels Afreedees -	-	25,000 rupees.
Khan Bahadur's ancestors, Malak Deen Khel Afreedees -	-	25,000 "
Mahomad Ameer Khan Lepa's ancestors -	-	26,000 "
The brothers Murtazá Khan and Sardalla Khan, Zakeekhel Afreedees -	-	25,000 "
The Malak of the Meedad Khel Shanwarees -	-	10,000 "
Ditto - of the Peeroo Khel Shanwarees -	-	10,000 "
Ditto - of the Khuga Khel Shanwarees -	-	10,000 "

The body of the Khybarrees supported themselves on theft, and when called into service only received rations.

Before the last engagement with the Sikhs, Khyber did not cost the Ameer more than 10,000 rupees a year; now he distributes 20,000, in the following way:—

	Rupees.	No. of Swords and Matchlock-men.
Alládád Khan and Faiztalla Zake Khel - - - -	4,000	3,000
Khan Bahadar Malak Deen Khel - - - -	5,000	4,000
Abdul Rahman Khan and Jangeer Khan Kukee Khels -	3,000	3,000
Salam Khan Sepa - - - -	3,000	4,000
Sadulla Khan Ganjo and Amar Khan Shawarees - -	1,500	6,000
Noor Mahamad Kamar Khel - - - -	750	1,500
Samandar Khan and Bakar Khan and Aka Khel - -	750	1,500
Aliff Khan Kambar Khel - - - -	1,500	3,000

The Khybarces are not always a connecting body, as was found to be the case the year after the death of Vízír Fattéh Khan, when Alládád Khan for 3,000 rupees brought Yar Mahomed Khan and Azeem Khan, though against the will of the Malak Deen Khels, Sepas and part of the Kukee Khels.

They refused refuge also in the case of a Molavee, the nephew of Sayad Ahmed, who had retired among them from the pursuit of Sultan Mahamad, for a bribe of 2,000 rupees given by the latter. They made him decamp and join the Eesafzais, by discharging muskets nightly over his camp.

Kabul,
1 October 1837.

(signed) *R. Leech,*
Corps of Engineers.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

(No. 41.)

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

BEFORE proceeding further with my communications on the state of affairs in this quarter, I feel it a duty incumbent on me to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, the great aid and cordial assistance which I have derived from Mr. Masson, not only since my arrival here, but from his constant correspondence since I left Bombay.

2. If I shall be fortunate enough to merit the approbation of His Lordship in Council for what may be accomplished here, I feel that I shall owe much to Mr. Masson, whose high literary attainments, long residence in this country, and accurate knowledge of people and events, afford me at every step the means of coming to a judgment more correct than in an abrupt transition to Cabool I could have possibly formed.

3. I discharge, therefore, a pleasing task in acknowledging the assistance which I receive from Mr. Masson; and while I do so, it is also my duty to state that I by no means wish the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council to consider Mr. Masson as responsible for the opinions and views which I may take up and report to Government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*

Cabool, 9 October 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

(No. 43.)

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

I DO myself the honour to annex the transcript of a letter to your address, the original of which I have given to Surwur Khan Lohanee, the native gentleman whom it is my object to introduce. After the anxiety displayed by the Russian authorities to show every attention to the Afghan merchants visiting their fairs, I have felt myself more than solicitous to exhibit to these men the equal interest which the British Government take in their welfare.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,

Cabool, 11 October 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

THE great Lohanee caravan, which leaves annually for India, being about to set out, I avail myself of the opportunity to bring to your notice Surwur Khan, and his brother, Ameer Khan, two of the principal men among the Lohanees engaged in carrying on the trade from India to Cabool and Toorkistan.

2. Surwur Khan is the individual who acted so very friendly a part when I visited Bokhara in 1832, from which he has just come, and where he still enjoys much of the confidence of the Kosh Begge, or first minister of the King.

3. In the event of the Right Honourable the Governor General's coming to Hindostan, it is exceedingly probable that Surwur Khan and his brother will deliver this letter in person to you. If you consider it fitting to present these gentlemen to his Lordship, I feel satisfied that such an honour will be highly appreciated by them, and do much good. The Cabool and Bokhara merchants at the last fair at Nijnee Novogorod, were all presented to the Emperor Nicholas, which is much talked of here, and who gave them great encouragement and commendation.

4. Independent of this, Surwur Khan is a man well acquainted with all mercantile affairs here and in Toorkistan, and if his Lordship wishes for a *vivâ voce* account of them and other subjects, I am certain that Surwur Khan's intelligence will enable him to give satisfactory information.

I have, &c.

Cabool, 10 October 1837.

(signed) *A. Burnes*.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

(No. 45.)

From Captain *Alexander Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to report the result of my inquiries on the subject of Persian influence in Cabool, and the exact power which the Kuzzilbash (or Persian) party, resident in this city, exercise over the politics of Afghanistan. Since any ascendancy on the part of Persia, or her allies in this quarter, must either have its origin, or be chiefly brought about by means of the Persian faction in the country, it becomes highly important to note the history of these tribes, their rise, progress, and present condition.

2. In the beginning of last century the feebleness of the Persian monarchy excited the cupidity of the Afghans, who overran the fairer portion of that kingdom, and possessed themselves of Ispahan. Their successes called forth the energies of the great Nadir, who not only drove the Afghans from Persia, but annexed the whole of their own territories to his empire, and, turning their swords against India, with an army of Persians and Afghans, sacked it, precisely an hundred years ago. During these wars the conqueror deemed it politic to fix some native tribes in the lands he had subdued, and to this policy we owe the colony of Persians now settled in Cabool, which, when first located, amounted to less than 2,000 families.

3. The people composing it consist of three divisions: 1st, the Juwansheer; 2d, the Ufsheers; and 3d, the Mooradkhanees, the whole being designated by the general name of Goolam Khanee, or Ghoolam i Shah, servants of the king. The Juwansheers are a clan of Toorks from Sheeshu. There are various divisions included among them, such as the Koort, the Shah Sumund, the Syah Munsoor, &c., and they form the principal portion of the Kuzzilbashes. They consist of 2,500 families, and occupy a separate quarter of Cabool, called the Chandoul, which is surrounded by high walls. Their chief is Khan Sheereen Khan. The Ufshurs are also Toorks, and of the tribe to which Nadir himself belonged. There are 300 families of them who live in a strong fort about three miles from Cabool, under Ghoolam Hoosein Khan. The last division, the Moorad Khanee, is comprised of all the Persians who have from time to time settled in this country. 1,500 families of them reside together under Mihr Alli Khan and five other chiefs. Besides these, there are 700 others in the fort of the Byats, a division of the tribe under Mahomed Khan. It will be thus seen that there are at this time 4,000 Kuzzilbash families in Cabool, from which a force of from 4,000 to 5,000 men could be levied on an emergency for the purposes of war. The number has been generally considered greater than this detailed statement, but the whole of the Shiah population in and about Cabool is then included in the calculation, and among these the Huzaras would furnish twice as many men as the Persians.

4. On Nadir Shah's assassination, many of the Persians fled from Cabool to their native country, but Ahmed Shah Dooranee, who succeeded to the authority of Nadir, conciliated a portion of them whom he retained in his pay and found of eminent service throughout his active reign, in which they became an organised body, acting under a Khan who was directly responsible to the Shah, while the Kuzzilbashes themselves only acknowledged their own chief. Matters seem to have continued in this state for about 53 years, during which the Persians acquired such power that the kings found it necessary to favour them by large stipendiary allowances, granted, in some instances, even to minors; and, as the Sudozye monarchy declined, their support became indispensable to the personal security of the king. In the reign of Shah Zuman, the chief of the Juwansheers was put to death, and from that time a want of confidence in the kings of Cabool, on the part of the Kuzzilbashes, is to be traced till they almost cease to appear as a body in the affairs of the state. The superior intelligence possessed by all Persians readily befits them for employment among the Afghans, and from war many became secretaries (Meerzas) and stewards (nazirs) to the different chiefs; others took to agriculture and merchandise, and some are at present shopkeepers in Cabool. It would at one time have been dangerous to entertain any Persian without their Khan's permission; but with the loss of military employment, or rather withdrawal from it, their pay ceased, and the growing wants of many drove them to the occupations which I have stated, though a portion of them have always continued in the service of the ruler of Cabool, as is the case at the present time.

5. Since the whole of the Persians in Cabool are Shiahs, and the national persuasion of the Afghans is Soonnee, the position of the Kuzzilbashes was full of danger; it was at any time possible to turn political dispute into religious difference, and there are various instances in the history of the Cabool monarchy in which these have threatened their very existence. Of late these fears have not been diminished, and since the overthrow of the monarchy the walls which surround the Juwansheer quarter of the city have been heightened and improved, and I observe alterations even since 1832. At one time they were not afraid to live outside of the city, but common interest has now led the whole

whole of the Persians to congregate together as the best means of warding off danger. They would have willingly left the city of Cabool and fixed themselves at a distance, like the Ufshurs, in a detached fort; but this they have found impossible, and their situation in the Chundool, or quarter of the Juwansheers, is now so completely commanded that an infuriated population might readily overpower them. The Persians themselves are therefore intently bent on adding to their own strength by intrigues around them, and though their military influence has declined, their power in this way is more considerable than before; since every man of rank has Persians for his secretaries, and all the home and foreign correspondence is in their hands, by which their influence ramifies in every direction.

6. The Persians of Cabool attached themselves to the vizier, Futteh Khan, and fought against Persia in his Herat campaign. They have long sought for a master who would consolidate them, as in former times, and they have, at times, entered into correspondence with Shah Shooja, but they have especially attached themselves to the vizier's brother, the present ruler of Cabool, and with the greater avidity, as his mother was of their tribe. Dost Mahomed Khan availed himself to the fullest extent of their support, and it was long considered by many that he was even favourable to Shiah doctrines; but he has either had the discrimination to see that these would be fatal to supremacy among his countrymen, or never in sincerity entertained them. This he proclaimed to the world, when about four years ago he took the title of Ameer, which has a religious signification, and from that time the Kuzzilbashes have ceased to centre their hopes in him. He himself has also withdrawn much of his confidence from the party, reduced the number of those in his pay to about 1,000 or 1,200 persons, and part of their salaries he has retrenched. The headmen receive about 58,000 rupees per annum, and the total derivable from the State by the rest may amount to about a lac of rupees, each horseman receiving 84 rupees per annum. Even in public he does not conceal his contempt for their creed: and, what is perhaps more bitterly felt, his avowed opinions of their wanting courage in the field, as exhibited in his campaigns with the ex-king at Candahar, and lately at Peshawar. In the former instance, he is stated to have placed Afghans on both flanks of the Kuzzilbashes, with secret instruction to fire on them if they fled. At Peshawar it is very certain that the party were backward in fighting; none of them were killed, and a piece of pleasantry is attributed to the Ameer, who said that he never remembered a Kuzzilbash to have fallen in his service. But Dost Mahomed Khan may have mistaken a want of inclination originating from disappointed hopes for a want of courage. Certain it is that of late he has sought to raise a body of regular troops, disciplined by Europeans; but he has hitherto completely failed, and if he consulted his interests he would seek no other support than that which he may command from the hill people about Cabool and the native Afghan tribes, who do now serve, and would willingly, on good pay, devote themselves to him. It would also undoubtedly add to his strength if he drew, at the same time, the Kuzzilbashes nearer to him; for, according to a profound political maxim, he should put it out of these men's power to injure, before he insults them, and they may materially promote his fortunes.

7. While Persian influence is thus declining, it appears a strange contradiction to record that Dost Mahomed Khan has sought for alliance with Persia, as the best means which occurred to him to support his power. He admitted into his councils a native Persian of some talent but bad character, the Naib Abdool Sumut, who has since been disgraced and fled to Persia, and the advice of this man, with that of Mahomed Khan Byat, a Kuzzilbash, raised by him and much in his confidence, as well as that of several interested persons, induced the Ameer to seek for support from Persia, and with this has revived the hopes of the Kuzzilbash faction, though their support would probably be directed, under Persian influence, to a master who more appreciated them than Dost Mahomed Khan. The whole party see, however, in the alliance certain benefit to their own condition, and in consequence, do what in them lies to promote the intercourse. It is thus that the Persian community in Cabool have viewed the arrival of an agent of the British Government in this quarter with suspicion, if not open dissatisfaction. They would cling to the British or any power which supported them, but it is more natural that they first seek to attach themselves to the country from which they originally spring, to which they are allied by a

common religion, more dear as it is rendered to them by impending danger. The Shah of Persia has not been slow in responding to Dost Mahomed Khan's desire for an alliance: an elchee has been sent with robes and presents in return, and is now at Candahar, but he has appeared at a time most unfavourable to his master, when the attention of the British Government is directed to Afghanistan, and which goes far to discredit him with all parties, and even to damp the hopes of the Kuzzilbashes. It is even doubtful if he will advance to Cabool, and it is certain, if he does so, that any offer which he may make will never be placed in the balance against those of the British Government. The King of Persia desires to add Herat to his dominions, and the Chiefs of Candahar and Cabool might certainly aid him in his designs, but the probabilities of a return for such good offices are more dubious; and it is this which inclines the Chiefs of Afghanistan, of Cabool in particular, to seek to improve their intimacy with the British Government. It is nearer to them, far more powerful than Persia, and with it a connexion would not be viewed by the Afghan nation in the unfavourable light which an alliance with a Shiah or a Hindoo power would certainly be in this Soonce country.

8. It is well known here that the young King of Persia has turned his earnest attention to Herat. The most outrageous conduct of the ruler and his minister, in having sold into slavery the greater part, or if not the whole Shiah population of the city, would justify any attack on the part of Persia, but I doubt the ability of that power, single-handed, to attack Herat. If she succeeds in humbling Kanran without the co-operation of the Afghan Chiefs, it must be through the influence of Russia, by whose counsels there can be very little doubt she is directed to Herat. Persia itself, as I have observed, has grounds for provocation, but I find Russia is not the less interested, and that she directs her attention to Herat to improve her commerce with Toorkistan, and her position in the East generally; and, it is seen, has not been dilatory in availing herself of the openings lately given by messengers from the Afghan Chiefs to the Shah, by whom her ambassador at Tehran transmitted communications. I shall reserve what I have to say regarding the commercial views of Russia in that quarter for an early and more fitting opportunity, when I come to that portion of my instructions which directs me to report on the measures adopted by that power to extend her commerce and influence in Central Asia.

9. In this country, however, the chiefs will have little mercy to expect from a King of Persia, if his influence extends to Herat, and the less so if it has been established without any co-operation from them. It has been seen, too, from the state of the Kuzzilbash faction, which has been described, that they afford at all times facilities for intriguing in Cabool, and with a Persian power so near as Herat, of a nature that may soon become dangerous. The only counterpoise to it that could benefit British interests in this quarter, would spring from the Ameer of Cabool being advised to show to these tribes a greater degree of favour than they now enjoy, which, since they cannot be removed from his country, would be a sound and safe policy. By pursuing it he might, perhaps, contrive to live on friendly terms with Persia, and since the party is too weak to be turned against the native Afghan tribes, their jealousy and their fear would be alike allayed. If, on the other hand, Persian influence is allowed to be established in this country, that of Russia must follow; should the attempt of Persia prove unsuccessful, we may look for some such fate to the Kuzzilbashes in Cabool as befel the Janissaries under the Sultan Mahomed, only that it will be more certain; since those soldiers held a power in the Ottoman empire, which was never enjoyed by the Persians in this kingdom.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

Cabool, 14 October 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

From Captain *A. Burnes*, to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, that two messengers arrived from Sind the day before yesterday, bringing letters from his Highness Meer Sobdar, to the Ameer and his brother the Nawab. The contents of the communication are as follows :—

“That Sind was a tributary state of the Dooranee monarchy, but that his cousins, Noor Mahomed, Nusser Khan, and Meer Mahomed, had entered into arrangements with the British Government, forgetting that he (Meer Sobdar) was the eldest son of the founder of the house of Talpoor; that as his father always rendered tribute to Cabool, he was now ready to do likewise to Dost Mahomed Khan; and begged he would send one of his sons to fix the sum, and to whom he might in person render his allegiance.”

2. The cossids were entrusted with verbal messages to the Ameer, to the same effect as the contents of the letter; and as several of my servants are Sindees, I received through that channel the substance of the communication. The letters are about 40 days old. As yet Dost Mahomed Khan has returned no answer, nor has he spoken to me on the subject.

3. As Meer Sobdar Khan states, it is undoubtedly true that he is the eldest son of Futteh Ali, the first of the Talpoors, but he is unable to cope with his three consins, each of whom possesses shares in Lower Sind as large as himself; and besides, he is subject to epileptic fits, which, though he possesses ability, often unfit him for business.

4. About 10 days before the arrival of Meer Sobdar's letter, I received a conjoint letter from their Highnesses Noor Mahomed and Nusser Khan, telling me that they looked upon me as one of their best friends and sincerest well-wishers; and I conclude the explanation of this epistle is to be found in the letters now received by the Ameer.

5. I have forwarded a copy of this letter for the information of Colonel Pottinger.

Cabool, 19 October 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alcr. Burnes*.

(No. 47.)

From Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to communicate, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, various circumstances relating to the commercial views and prospects of Russia in Central Asia. From my situation, which is still rather remote from the quarter to which they relate, I report with some small doubt as to their entire correctness, though I have derived them from good authority, and had a great deal of intercourse with the merchants trading from this to Toorkistan.

2. Up to the year 1832, I have recorded all the particulars relating to the intercourse of Russia with Bokhara and Toorkistan, which I gathered in my former journey. It seems that, in the year succeeding my visit, the Russian Government deputed an agent to the King of Bokhara. The name of the individual I do not know, for though he was an officer of the Russian service, he assumed the costume and habits of a Mahomedan while in Bokhara. He brought along with him letters and presents for the king, and was received with every distinction by the authorities in Toorkistan. The ostensible object of his mission was to interest the king in putting a stop to the practices of the Khweins, who molested from time to time the caravans passing into Russia, and also seized many Russians from the frontiers. It was considered that the remonstrances of a friendly Mahomedan authority, such as the King of Bokhara, might produce salutary consequences.

3. In the course of the agent's stay at Bokhara, he frequently conversed with the Koosh Begge on the commercial views of the Russian Government, and their great anxiety to extend their commerce into Central Asia, and

particularly towards Herat; many of his observations were made publicly in presence of the merchants, who always assemble round the Koosh Begee in his caravansary. He likewise continually dwelt on the position of Herat, being such that it was through it alone that the Emperor hoped to realise his wishes, for it was the entrepôt of Persia, India, Cabool, and Toorkistan; that from Herat to Bokhara the road led through flat countries and good roads as compared with those by Cabool over Hindoo Koosh, and that the influence of the Russian Government when once established in that part of Afghanistan, must draw the whole trade into that channel, and promote, in a very great degree, the further intercourse with the fairs at Nejnei Novogorod, and other parts of the Russian dominions.

4. In reply to the letters brought by the Russian envoy, the King of Bokhara returned most friendly communications, but stated his inability to exercise his control over the Khivans, though he was very anxious to promote in every way commercial prosperity. Soon afterwards an agent was deputed from Bokhara to make known to the Emperor various circumstances regarding the duties leviable at the fairs in Russia considered oppressive, and of which a revision was solicited. In addressing the Emperor, the Koosh Begee availed himself of the opportunity to note the attention which the Government of India had been lately directing towards the Indus and Bokhara, and he stated the communications which he had with us in 1832, and the hopes he had expressed that the British Government would extend its commerce in this quarter. In reply to these communications the Emperor of Russia acceded in some points to the requests made, and promised to take others into consideration at an early and future opportunity, when he would visit in person the southern part of his territories.

5. In the year 1835 the Russian Government, finding that they could not put an end to the intrusion of the Khivans and the excesses which they committed, resolved upon more rigorous measures than they had hitherto adopted. They seized upon a site near Mungushluck, on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea, opposite to Astrakan, and built a fort which commands the landing-place in the bay, and which they yet occupy. As may be supposed, this step gave great offence to the chief of Khiva, Ullah Kooli Khan, who remonstrated strongly against it; and failing here, he threatened to retaliate by sending out plundering excursions more numerous than formerly, and he complained to the King of Bokhara and to the Khan of Kokan at the unjust invasion of his country, and sought their aid against an enemy which might next day injure themselves if not timely resisted. These chiefs admitted the justice of the demand, but sent no assistance to the Khan of Orgunge.

6. After the Russians had fixed themselves on the eastern bank of the Caspian, a party came over from Astrakan in four small vessels, as report states, for the purpose of sporting (shikar), but more probably for some purpose of reconnoissance. Information of their movements reaching the Khan of Orgunge, he sent out a plundering (allaman) expedition, and captured the whole body, about 120 in number, two of them being men of rank. They were all brought to Orgunge; the two individuals in question were detained by the Khan, the rest sold as slaves; some of them were sent to Bokhara and Kokan, and I met a man from the neighbourhood of Samarcand who had known a party of them exchanged for some horses. The Emperor promptly remonstrated against such acts, and demanded restitution of the captives; but the Khan refused to surrender them, alleging that the Russians had built a fort in his country by force, and that he had retaliated according to his threat, and seized the party which he intended to retain.

7. Matters continued in this state till the Emperor Nicholas, in July last year, repaired in person to the great fair of Nejnei Novogorod. One of his first acts was to direct all the merchants of Central Asia to be presented to him, and to request that they would state any means by which their interests could be promoted. The subject of the excessive duties being brought forward, he directed on inquiry that a very material reduction, stated by some to be as much as one-fourth of the whole, should at once take place, which he communicated by letter to the King of Bokhara, and the Khan of Kokan, sending them presents and friendly letters. On this occasion the Emperor received with much affability and condescension the merchants from Bokhara and Cabool; bestowed on them great commendations for their enterprise, stating that

that he had granted immunities to the fair on their account. The fact of such privileges being conferred is, I perceive, mentioned in the "Frankfort Gazette." Very different, however, was the treatment which the merchants from Orgunge experienced. His Majesty directed the whole of them to be detained, and their goods seized upon by the government officers. They amounted to 46 individuals, some of them of considerable opulence, and who had long traded to Russia. The merchants petitioned against such conduct, declaring that they were not parties in the transactions of the Khan of Khiva, and ought not in consequence to be made responsible. The Emperor refused to attend to their solicitations, and directed them to be sent to Moscow.

8. On these proceedings being made known in Khiva, the Khan sent a second envoy to the chiefs of Bokhara and Kokan to request their aid and advice. They were reluctant to interfere after the privileges lately granted, but considering the act of the Russians to be harsh against the merchants, the King of Bokhara agreed to send an agent to the Emperor to negotiate for the relief of the *detenus* and the restoration of their property; a caravan which has just arrived here from Bokhara, brings intelligence that the agent has not returned, but that the Russians refuse to restore the merchants, and, in fact, that they had already been marched to Siberia. This intelligence has been received with great dissatisfaction in Toorkistan, and for the present will lead to a suspension of all trade between that country and Russia. It is even stated that the chiefs of Kokan, Bokhara, and Khiva will league together, and take measures to capture Russians and their property in the direction of Orenburgh, Cazau, Troitskai, and Erbit, or in the places lying immediately north of their respective countries. The anxiety of Russia to promote her ends in Toorkistan, leads me, however, to the belief, that she will seek some means of allaying the irritation of these small Mahomedan states; but from the nature of the dispute this will be far from easy, for the Khan of Orgunge must first be pacified; he commands the great caravan road leading into Russia, he has been able to prevent Russian merchants coming to Bokhara, and he can also obstruct the passage of the Mahomedan merchants into Russia. It is not improbable that the position of Khiva has led the Emperor of Russia to these apparently unjust measures. It, however, also serves to conciliate Persia, whose subjects are enslaved in thousands in Khiva, so that anything done against that petty state must be gratifying to the Court of Tehran, the ends of both being in this instance identical. His Majesty may likewise find it advisable to send a military expedition into the steppe, and the detention of the merchants may serve to work upon the Khan, since it touches his interests.

9. At such a juncture, I have thought it very advisable to send an express messenger to the Koosh Beggee, or minister of Bokhara, and to give him at great length the motives which have led the Government of India to depute me to Cabool. By letter I have informed him of the treaties which we have entered upon to throw open the Indus, and pointed out the bright commercial prospects which these arrangements held out, and the temptations which they afford to the traders of Toorkistan to turn their capital in this direction. I, of course, have made no allusion to the existing differences with Russia, but based the communication on the increased facility afforded by a new channel of commerce. I have also requested the minister to inform the king of the contents of the communication, and I did not let the opportunity pass of thanking the excellent man himself for the kind treatment to Dr. Gerard and myself when in Bokhara, nor to assure him how much my superiors, my countrymen, and myself appreciated it; and above all, how glad the Government of India would be to give in return every encouragement and protection to the merchants who would frequent its territories. I shall expect a reply in 40 or 50 days, and since the merchants here assure me of the friendly feelings which the Koosh Beggee entertains towards the British Government, and that he bears a kindly remembrance of my former visit, I shall look with interest and anxiety for the reply.

10. With reference to what has been stated in the 3d paragraph of this letter regarding the commercial views of Russia towards Herat, it will not fail to strike his Lordship in Council that if they should prove well founded, some explanation is found of the urgency with which Russia has counselled Persia to designs in that quarter; and this opinion receives strength from the obstruction

which Mr. Ellis met in procuring even a "Rukum" from his Persian Majesty regarding immunities to British commerce in his dominions, similar to those possessed by Russia. To a country wanting money, and abounding in raw materials as Russia, any new outlet to her commerce must be as dear as to Great Britain. We shall thus find a strong motive for the attention directed by her in this quarter, without believing that she contemplates the gigantic enterprise of invading either Cabool or India. It is also certainly true that there is no capital in Asia better adapted by its position for maturing the commercial views of Russia than Herat. The time is not far distant when trade ran from India in that direction, from which it was only diverted by the present ruler of Cabool. Further, if Candahar become linked with Persia, the channel is complete, since through that city the communications to Herat are now carried on, and on an identity of interests between Candahar and Persia will follow all that the Russian Government can desire.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 20 October 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin,* and in reply to forward for your information the accompanying copy of a letter this day written to Captain Wade on the subject of those communications.

2. I am desired to take this opportunity of assuring you that the Governor General in Council is entirely satisfied with your proceedings so far as they have been heretofore reported, and he feels confident that in your future negotiations you will take care not to encourage any unreasonable hope on the part of Dost Mahomed, that you will studiously refrain from committing your own Government, and that you will endeavour if possible to effect the desirable object of reconciling the existing differences between the Sikhs and the Afghans without any ostensible intervention on our part. There would doubtless appear to be many advantages in prospect could a reconciliation be effected on the basis of the restoration of Peshawur to one of the brothers of the Ameer, if such an arrangement could willingly be acceded to by the Maharajah.

3. You will learn from my letter to Captain Wade, that the Governor General in Council is doubtful as to the expediency of your proceeding for the present to Candahar. In the existing complicated state of political relations in that quarter, his Lordship in Council does not clearly perceive what specific object could be aimed at by your presence there, and he apprehends that, on the contrary, some embarrassment might be experienced. His Lordship in Council relies upon your judgment for proceeding or otherwise to Candahar, as you may deem that step advisable; but in case of your proceeding, and until you

receive

* Letter dated 31 August 1837, reporting your departure from Peshawur, and giving an account of your interviews with Kooruk Kurruck Singh, relative to the objects which the British Government had in view in sending a mission to Cabool. Letter dated 4 September 1837, reporting your having passed Khyber, and arrived within the limits of Dost Mahomed Khan's jurisdiction in safety. Letter dated 8 September 1837, submitting a report on the political power of the Sikhs westward of the Indus. Letter dated 9 September 1837, reporting on the recent intercourse of Candahar with Russia and Persia, founded on documents and information which you consider authentic. Letter dated 10 September 1837, stating, in reply to my letter of 31 July last, that in your opinion the restoration of Peshawur, under certain restrictions, is likely most to contribute towards a reconciliation between the Sikhs and Afghans.

receive further instructions, you will restrict yourself to the duty of carefully watching and reporting the course of events, refraining from mixing yourself up with any of the intrigues which appear to be in progress in that quarter. You will at the same time so act as to mark the wish of the Governor General in Council, to respect the independence of all the chiefs of Afghanistan.

4. His Lordship in Council concludes, that you keep Mr. McNeill duly informed of all authentic intelligence that may reach you regarding the endeavours reported to be making with a view to the extension in an easterly direction of Persian or Russian influence.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William, 20 October 1837.

(No. 54.)

From Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

In my letter of the 9th ultimo, I had the honour to make known to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council what had transpired at Candahar since the arrival of an elchee at that city from the Shah of Persia. Since then Mahomed Hoossein, the agent sent by the Ameer of Cabool to the Court of Tehran has reached this, but Kumbur Ali Khan, the elchee, has not made his appearance.

2. It appears that he was ready to start for Cabool, and had actually made one march in this direction, when Hajee Khan Kaker, a man of some weight in this country, and who has lately gone to Candahar, after quarrelling with Dost Mahomed Khan, pointed out to the Candahar Chiefs the inadvisability of permitting any agent from Persia to go beyond Candahar, and that it was for their interest that they should of themselves enter into an alliance with Persia unconnected with their brother in Cabool. The effect of this advice was the recall of Kumbur Ali Khan to Candahar, and by the last letters he is now preparing to set out for Persia, and the universal and current rumour is that the Chief of Candahar, Kohin Dil Khan, is to send his own son along with him, though Hajee Khan Kaker wishes to go himself, unattended by a son of the Sirdar.

3. When this intelligence reached Cabool, the Ameer was much displeased, and he is now on the eve of sending a confidential person to Candahar to induce the elchee to continue his journey to Cabool. He acts thus to save his own credit with his neighbours, though I see little probability of his succeeding, if the Candahar Chiefs consider they have gained a point by their own establishment of an independent intercourse with Persia. The Persians also may really be assisted in their designs upon Herat by the Candahar Sirdars, and in a much more useful manner than by Cabool.

4. Since the date of my last letter on this subject, 9th ultimo, I have received a most friendly communication from Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan, which in itself, if reliance is to be placed upon it, is highly satisfactory. I have been therefore considering how far it would be advisable in me to address a remonstrance to him on the line of procedure which he is now following, but on the strength of such a letter he might consider the British Government committed in some way to him, and I therefore for the present await the course of events before I take any such step, and a very few weeks, even days, must decide the fate of the Persian mission to Afghanistan.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
Cabool, On a Mission to Cabool.
21 October 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

(No. 57.)

From Captain *A. Burnes* on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

[I HAD the honour to receive your very important communication of the 11th of September, on the evening of the 21st, immediately after I had despatched my letter of that day's date to your address. It is satisfactory to think that my Despatch of the 5th instant will put the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council in possession of information which will, I doubt not, remove every anxiety as to the Chief of Cabool putting forth any extravagant pretensions; though my short letter of the 21st exhibits a state of affairs at Candahar of a much less cheering nature. The very opportune arrival of the instructions now acknowledged has placed me in such full possession of the views of Government, that I at once resolved to use my most active exertions to counteract Persian intrigue in that quarter, and the more so as public rumour states, and universal belief seems to confirm, that the Shah of Persia has actually marched on Khorasan, and, by the last reports, was close upon Meshid.]

2. On the morning of the 22d I received by a messenger from Candahar a full account of the proceedings at that city. The Chief had finally resolved on despatching his second son, Mahommed Omar Khan, to Persia, along with the elchee; had fixed upon the persons who were to compose his suite, about 150 in number; set aside 14,000 rupees for the expenses of the journey, and made provision for the presents with which the party is to be charged to the Shah and the Russian Ambassador. For his Majesty an elephant is to be sent, for his minister a pair of shawls, for the Russian Ambassador four shawls, for Abbas Khan Heratee two shawls, and Kumber Ali himself is to be dismissed with every honour and respect. To conciliate still further his Persian Majesty, the name of the Sirdar's son is changed from Omar Khan to Mudud Khan, the former designation being offensive to Mahommedans of the Shiah persuasion.

3. [I have stated in my letter of the 21st that] these measures were adopted by the advice of Hajee Khan Kaker, but though he has no doubt had some share in the transactions, there are proofs of a much earlier disposition in the Candahar Sirdars to cultivate a close alliance with Persia, of which the late deputation of Hajee Mobeen is not the least. The activity of their present proceedings is said to arise from anxiety to strengthen themselves with Persia, under a belief that their brother in Cabool will receive, to their exclusion, the alliance of the British Government; for though these chiefs would willingly co-operate with Dost Mahomed Khan on any occasion where Barukzye supremacy was endangered, they see in the advance of Persia eastward immediate danger to themselves, and they rejoice in the opportunity which they think they possess in the presence of a Persian elchee to conciliate the Shah, in whose promises their reliance seems firm. [Of the three brothers, one only, Rahim Dil Khan, is considered lukewarm in the cause.] Since their resolution has been taken, the Persian envoy, Kumber Ali Khan, has been introduced to many people in the city, and talked openly of the connexion between Candahar and Persia, and the vast benefits which must flow from it, which include [among other empty vaunts], a promise of the cession of Herat when their combined forces shall have subdued that city.

4. Since these reports have reached this from other correspondents than my own, there could be no doubt that the time had arrived for using every exertion to put a stop to this intercourse; [and though it would have rendered the assistance of the Ameer of Cabool more certain, if something definite had been settled about the affairs of Peshawar, still his disposition was such that I believed I could rely upon his co-operation without committing the Government by promises of anything in return.] I therefore resolved to enter, in the most unreserved manner, as to the views entertained regarding his brother's league with Persia. The Ameer himself, instead of receiving me at the Bala Hissar, came over in person to our residence, along with his brother, the Nuwab, on the morning of the 24th; and I now proceed to state the nature of our interview, which sets Dost Mahomed Khan's conduct in a light that must prove, as I believe, very gratifying to Government.

5. After

5. After we had conversed on the reported approach of the Shah of Persia, of which the Ameer had also heard by letter from Candahar on the preceding evening, stating that his Majesty had arrived at Shahrood, [Bootan,] I asked at once if there was any truth in the rumours that had reached me of his brother, at Candahar, sending one of his sons to the Court of Persia. The Ameer at once replied, that the very letter he had just mentioned, and which he showed to me, confirmed the report, but that he had not heard direct on the subject. I stated that I was anxious to inform him I saw no possible good that could result to Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan in such a step, and that I felt myself bound to tell him so. "When Shah Shooja ool Moolk invaded this kingdom in 1833," I added, "you and your brothers at Candahar acted in concert with one another, and the British Government in evincing its sympathy with the difficulties under which your family now labours, is not likely to be urged on to use its good offices to allay differences in the east, when fresh causes to disturb the public tranquillity of these countries on the west, receive support at Candahar."

6. The Ameer declared to me in the most explicit manner that if it was a cause of regret on our part it was doubly so on his own; for he had himself bitterly repented his ever having had anything to do with Persia, and the more so, since he had received the Governor General's notification of my deputation to this country. So much indeed had this been the case, that he had refrained from entering with me into particulars regarding Kumber Ali Khan's mission; and that, what was further, he had resisted all persuasion to send a letter of invitation to that person when he reported his arrival at Candahar; for though he could not refuse to receive him, after the letters which he had addressed to the Shah, he saw clearly that it could not meet our approbation; and that he was glad to say the elchee in question would not advance beyond Candahar. This, he said, appeared to him the best way in which he could mark his desire to ally himself to the British Government; and he begged to assure me that the whole of these transactions at Candahar were passing without his concurrence, and much against his inclination.

7. I immediately replied that it was very pleasing to hear such sentiments; for though I could not doubt, after the declarations which I heard since reaching Cabool, that these were his real feelings, yet it had been stated that he had taken offence at the detention of the envoy at Candahar, and had sent a confidential agent there, which now appeared to be erroneous. [That I had already pointed out to him the inability of the Persian Government to assist him, and of the worthlessness of the promises which had been made, he was now able to judge, since neither men nor money were forthcoming; that all which I had stated applied with equal force to his brother at Candahar, and that it was for their own real good to desist from applications in a direction from which no possible benefit would spring, and serious injury, as it appeared to me, must follow.] I felt myself bound, however, I stated, to explain very clearly that, [on this advice,] neither he nor his brother were to found hopes of receiving aid from the British Government, [because I now pointed out to them the hollowness of a Persian alliance. I said that we could not for a moment allow of a comparison between that monarchy and Britain; that the Shah, who now sat upon the throne had been put there by British influence, that his resources were small and his army inefficient, and that these facts proved the inability of Persia to render the aid which she promised; that her end was to try and unsettle these countries, to play one small State against another, such as Herat and Candahar, and her only object self-aggrandisement at the expense of others, and that too through promises which were deceitful.] The British Government [on the other hand] if they had not taken any active measures in these countries, had now evinced their sympathy, while a good understanding between the chiefs of Afghanistan must ultimately lead to the benefit of all parties, and to the growth of that friendly feeling now first evinced by the present mission to this country. I hoped therefore he would use his influence at Candahar; for I also felt myself bound, after a friendly communication which I had received from that quarter, to address a friendly letter of advice to Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan.

8. The Ameer declared that he himself was much concerned at what had passed; and said that I should have asked him sooner to use his influence, and he would have exerted himself long since. He saw clearly that the

designs of Persia were sinister, and that Russia, through her, was preparing to try her fortune in these countries, as the British had tried it in India. For this, too, they had themselves to blame, as that Court had found out, from the applications of Kamran, of himself unfortunately, and of his brothers at Candahar, that this country is without masters; but if the affairs of Peshawar are adjusted, his Persian Majesty will learn that the case is otherwise, and whether the British Government interested itself or not, he was resolved to do everything which he could to show his respect for its wishes, and conciliate it, and if he could not succeed he was equally determined to have nothing further to do with Persia; that he would despatch a confidential courier (chuppur) to Candahar this evening, and remonstrate in the strongest language with his brothers; and that, further, if he could not change them in their purpose, he would, if I advised it, put a stop to these intrigues by threats or by force of arms; for the Afghans had no sympathy with Persia, and if Herat fell into the hands of that kingdom [of which there now appeared a great probability], it was time to unite their strength, or to take measures which would place the resources of Cabool and Candahar in one hand. I declared at once that the British Government would not give its countenance to any such step as active operations against his brother; but that if he succeeded in preventing Kohin Dil Khan from acting as he intended, it could not fail to be received as a strong mark of his desire for our friendship, and I would add, of great good sense. [He dictated, in my presence, three letters, to be addressed to Candahar, and, along with them, a paper of a very caustic nature was enclosed, a translation of both of which I append. I add, at the same time, the communication which I myself addressed, in which I have been as explicit as seems advisable.

9. Whatever be the ultimate destiny of these countries, whether one chief raises himself at the expense of the others, or they continue, as at present, in small independent States, it appears of the first importance, as they are now constituted, to exhibit a kind and conciliatory demeanor towards all parties. The necessity of cutting off communication with the west has been fully acknowledged by his Lordship in Council, and the Ambassador in Persia has given his opinion of the necessity there exists of putting a stop to further intercourse between Persia and Candahar. I hope, therefore, that the communication which I have now addressed to that quarter, comes strictly within the line of my duty: by its result the propriety of it will probably be judged; but seeing the ills which must flow from such a decided step as sending a son of the chief to Persia, I considered it right first to interest Dost Mahomed Khan in cutting asunder this alliance, and next to exhibit to the chief how little it would conduce to his own interest. Arriving at a time when Persian and Russian intrigues were insinuating themselves into this country, a chain of circumstances fortuitous in their nature, and which at first foreboded distraction, has happily defeated for the present their designs in Cabool; and, with the friendly footing in this important capital which has been given to us by Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, I found a strong hope that the Candahar Chiefs will also be turned from their purpose, and ultimately contribute to the ascendancy of British counsels over that of every other power between India and Persia.]

Cabool, 31 October 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

[TRANSLATION of a Public Letter from the Ameer, to the address of the Candahar Chiefs; dated Cabool, 25 October 1837.

A. C.,

I HAVE lately sent you all the news of this quarter, which you might have understood. What your letters contained, I comprehend perfectly. We have been always friends with each other, and the fruits of unanimity have and will always prove advantageous. You, and all my other brothers at Candahar, have always written to me that I was your superior, and asked my advice on every subject, and declared that you would never contradict me.

As Peshawar, which is our principal abode, fell into the hands of the Sikhs, on account of the foolishness of Sultan Mahomed Khan, and which has been a source of great trouble
and

and vexation to us, so now Candahar, the place of our nativity, is always threatened by Kamran. These difficulties obliged us all to have recourse to the English, Persian, and Tartar Governments. It brought, at last, from east, the English elchee, and from the west the elchees of Persia and Tartary. Before the latter embassies entered the country, I informed you, that as Alexander Burnes is coming here on the part of the British Government, it would be proper to send one of your brothers to Cabool, that we might consult on the matter, and settle things with him. You replied to me, that you would send Mehir Dil Khan along with the Persian elchee, and do what I advised.

Meanwhile some misunderstanding takes place between you and your brothers, which prevents the elchee and Mihr Dil Khan coming here. Mr. Burnes arrives, and enters upon business; what he has seen and heard he has reported to his Government, and it will also reach the Sikhs. Some hopes arise regarding Peshawar. It is well known to the world that the power of the Sikhs is nothing in comparison with that of the English, and if all our objects be obtained through that great power, so much the better. Mr. Burnes, after settling matters in this quarter, intends to proceed to Candahar, and thence, by the road of Shikarpoor, to Sindh.

For these few days past no letter has come direct from you; but from the contents of letters for Mr. Burnes and others, I learn that on the information of a Persian army coming to Herat, you are going to send your son, Mahomed Omar Khan, along with the Persian Elchee, to the Shah. This has astonished me very much, because you never did anything before without my advice; and what fruits do you hope to reap by sending your son to Persia? If the British would not be friendly, then you might make friendship with others; the former are near to us, and famous for preserving their word: the latter are nothing in power as compared with them.

If you look upon me as greater than yourself, take my advice and do not send your son to Persia. In the event of your not attending to my advice, such circumstances will happen as will make you bite the finger with repentance.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.]

No. 2.

[TRANSLATION of a Private Letter from the Ameer to the Address of the Chief of Candahar, enclosed in the preceding; dated Cabool, 25 October 1837.

A. C.,

A FEW days ago, Alexander Burnes received information that you are sending Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia. He privately asked me in the following manner: "Notwithstanding the friendly feelings which subsists between the English and Afghans, your brother, it appears, is going to send his son to Mahomed Shah: how will it do to keep foot in two boats? If they act by your advice, it is far from wisdom. We (English) are looking for the prosperity of the household of the Afghans, and you, in return, are doing such things. If you say that your brothers at Candahar are taking this step without your advice, the world will never believe it, because it is well known to the Europeans that Shah Shooja had nearly taken the city of Candahar, when you, being of one blood, went with troops and drove Shah Shooja from Candahar. It is, however, possible that these matters at Candahar are going on without your knowledge." Mr. Burnes said many things in this style, and really I had no answer to give him.

Oh! my brother, if you will do such things without my concurrence, what will the people of the world say to it? We have an enemy like Runjeet Singh in our neighbourhood, and the English may get the affair of Peshawar settled. How, then, can we enter on an alliance with others, if they exhibit to us friendship. I see nothing for the Mussulmans, in their wars against the Sikhs, but to be friendly with the English Government, and endeavour to please them. If you will do contrary to what I do, it will be very bad, and finally create such animosity between us, if you go by one road and I by the other, that it must injure the welfare of both. If you fear from Kamran at Herat, that thing in time may also be settled through the means of the English. Consider deeply that the friendship of Persia is exactly like the following old proverb: "Until the antidote should be brought from Irak, the poison of the snake causes death."

If you will not abandon the intention of sending your son to Persia, you must consider me your enemy.

In case you do not rely upon what Captain Burnes and I have been conversing on, send your brother, Mihr Dil Khan, here for a few days, and he will see and tell you all.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.]

No. 3.

[COPY of a Letter from Captain *Burnes*, to the Chief of Candahar, Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan; dated Cabool, 24 October 1837.

A. C.,

I HAD the great pleasure to receive your friendly letter, the arrival of which delighted me very much. What you said, that, "By God, the feelings of friendship which I entertain must correspond with those in your breast, and will strengthen the bonds of amity; do not think otherwise," greatly pleased me, and I have been looking forward to the time when I should see and know you, and hear all about this good disposition from your own mouth.

It is known to you that I came to this quarter with good intentions towards all parties, and particularly to converse with all the members of your family, and I have received a very friendly reception at Cabool. At this time I hear, from various quarters, that you are sending your son to Iran; when I look to the contents of your letter, and to this step, I do not understand matters, and believe that some person has been deceiving me. Its not possible to hold two water-melons in one hand; unanimity in families is a great source of power; family differences are the certain cause of evil; and foreseeing as much as the feeble intellect of man can do into futurity, I see no good in the step you now contemplate. Even I see that the fruit of the matter will be nothing but repentance and loss; and wishing you well, I have thought it proper to write to you. Let me hear from you, that I may know you continue as much my friend as I am yours.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.]

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Right honourable the Governor General of India in Council, various circumstances regarding my intercourse with Meer Moorad Beg, the Uzbek Chief of Koondooz, which have led to the deputation of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood on a visit to that personage.

2. Immediately on my arriving in this country, I endeavoured, by every means in my power, to conciliate the chief; but his known and avowed aversion to all Europeans rendered the task very difficult. He had behaved badly to Mr. Moorcroft, and indifferently to myself. A letter which was addressed to his minister by Nawab Jubbar Khan, in behalf of Mr. Vigne, who lately visited this country, drew forth the very unfriendly reply (No. 3) which is annexed; and the late Dr. Gerard, on his return to India, was not more fortunate, as is exhibited in the translation (No. 4) of a letter from the chief which I now possess.

3. As the British Nation had never done aught to excite such animosity in the mind of the Koondooz Chief, I have been long disposed to attribute these unkindly feelings to his belief that all Europeans were hostile to him merely on account of what befel Mr. Moorcroft. I therefore assured the Toorkistan merchants, particularly Budro Deen, the principal of them, that we had no ill feeling to Moorad Beg; and on the 6th ultimo, I addressed Atma, the Dewan Begge, his principal minister; but I forwarded the letter to him secretly, since it was not at all advisable to subject myself to such replies as had been already received.

4. About the time of our reaching Cabool, the Meer of Koondooz sent an agent to this city, to see what was passing. He and Dost Mahomed Khan have not of late been on the best of terms, and the Uzbek was not altogether satisfied that our presence might not affect him, as there was then an elchee from Bokhara at this place. Some explanation, however, ensued, and the messenger, in the name of his master, begged that Dost Mahomed Khan would get Dr. Lord to improve the eye-sight of his Mahomed Beg, the brother of the
Koondooz

Koondooz Chief. The Ameer wrote, in reply, that he could not ask the medical gentleman to go to Koondooz, as he was his guest; but that if he would come to Cabool, his house would be his home, and he would procure medical assistance.

5. In the course of 22 days an elchee returned from Koondooz, and I was surprised to receive from his hands the annexed letter (No. 1), addressed by Meer Moorad Beg to myself; nor was the chief satisfied with this imploration, but addressed Dost Mahomed Khan and Budro Deen to sue for medical aid from us. The elchee, Mirza Budia, a man much in the confidence of the Chief of Koondooz, delivered to me a most friendly message, with the very remarkable and spontaneous offer, that if the medical gentleman would come to Koondooz, he would cause all the MSS. and books of the lamented Moorcroft to be handed over to him.

6. The Chief of Cabool was exceedingly anxious to bring Moorad Beg's brother across Hindoo Koosh; but he had political objects in view, and I thought it much more advisable for Mr. Lord to proceed in person to Koondooz; and he started yesterday, in company with the elchee and an agent from Dost Mahomed Khan. By him I addressed a letter to Meer Moorad Beg (No. 2), the translation of which is appended.

7. Along with Mr. Lord I have also despatched Lieutenant Wood; and as he carries with him his chronometers and other instruments, he will be enabled, I hope, to materially improve the geography of this interesting and unknown part of Asia. Lieutenant Leech has already examined the great pass over Hindoo Koosh; and this officer, in both going and returning, may add a new route to our information. I trust also that Mr. Lord will be able to conciliate the Chief of Koondooz by curing his brother; but I am certain that that gentleman will advance our knowledge of the geology and botany of the stupendous mountains across which his route lies.

8. But, however desirous it must always be to enlarge our general knowledge of these countries, I cannot but consider the present opportunity of conversation with Moorad Beg as fortunate and well timed. That chief had it always in his power to shut up the caravan road from Cabool to Bokhara; though he is friendly to the merchant, political circumstances have sometimes led him to threaten he would take such a step. Our presence has healed his differences with Cabool, and by the establishment of a good understanding with him, the link of communication will now be complete from the sea to Bokhara.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 4 November 1837.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Meer Moorad Beg, the Chief of Koondooz, to the Address of Captain *Burnes*; received at Cabool on the 21th of October 1837.

After Compliments,

I HAVE heard much of you and the great wisdom which you possess; I learn from many quarters that you are as the renowned Bograt (Hippocrates) among wise men. My young brother, Mahmood Beg, has become dim-sighted; if you can cure him, I will be very thankful to you, and send him to Cabool. I am friendly with Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, and his house will be open to my brother as if it were my own house.

If it pleases God, and the eyes of my brother are cured, you will have great fame and name in (Tartary) Toorkistan.

The bearer of this, Mirza Budia, will tell you all the case; and rely upon what he says.

Let me hear from you, and accept the horse which I send you, as a rarity of this country and a remembrance from me.

(sealed) *Moorad Beg.*

(A true translation)

(signed) *A. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

COPY of a Letter addressed to Meer Moorad Beg, the Chief of Koondooz, by Captain Burnes; dated Cabool, 31 October 1837.

After Compliments,

I HAVE had great satisfaction in receiving the very friendly communication which you transmitted to me from Koondooz by the hands of your confidential agent, Mirza Budea. I have understood all which the Mirza has stated, and be assured that I feel honoured by the confidence you place in me, and more so at the high opinions which you entertain of European skill and knowledge.

It is to me a source of much regret that one so dear to you as your brother, the honoured Mahmood Beg, should labour under a disease so afflicting, a threatened loss of sight. Where would be the proof of the friendly feelings which I entertain towards you, if I allowed such an one to cross the snows of Hindoo Koosh, and seek for medical aid in Cabool? Along with me, as you have justly heard, is a renowned (hukeem) physician, skilled in the science of Europe, and he hastens to attend you in your own country. The cure of a disease is in the hands of God, but Dr. Lord and Mr. Wood will omit nothing which can render their services of value to your brother and useful to yourself. These gentlemen are the servants of the Government of India and my fellow travellers; they are very dear to me, and will make known to you the business which has brought me here, and all which they tell you be pleased to rely on.

It is proper to mention to you that the object of the European Government in India is to lay open the roads to and from Hind and Toorkistan, that the caravans may pass safely. Your fame in protecting the merchant and exacting duties according to law (shira) is well known, but such is not the case throughout all the roads from Hind. When arrangements have been made for using the great river of Sind as a channel of commerce, more merchandise will be sent into Toorkistan, and I rejoice to think that this will improve your revenue and increase your power.

What Mirza Budea has stated to me about the papers and books of Moorcroft, which you will procure for me; that is a great proof of your friendly feeling, and worthy of yourself. As the sight of your own brother is dear to you, so are the relics of a countryman who died in a distant country dear to all his friends (buradarun) and relations.

For the horse which you sent to me I am very much obliged; in return I send you some of the rarities of Europe, such as a pair of pistols, a telescope, a watch, a sword-blade, &c., &c., of which I beg your acceptance from Dr. Lord and Mr. Wood, who will deliver them to you.

I trust that it may be the will of God that your brother may be cured; as much as man can do will be done for him. Think of the distance of Europe (Furhung) from Koondooz, and the good fortune which has brought a physician at such an opportune time near him. I trust the omen is auspicious, and that the present occasion will also be the beginning of a lasting friendship between the British Government and yourself. Consider me, who am one of its servants, as your friend, and let me hear of your welfare.

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)
(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Atma Dewan Begge, the Minister of Meer Moorad Beg, to the Address of Nawab Jubbar Khan; received in Cabool 1835, about Mr. Vigne.

After Compliments,

I WAS highly honoured with the arrival of your kind letter; its contents gave me great pleasure. The rarities, along with the compliments which some European (who is your friend) had sent by the cossid to my master, the Meer, safely reached me; they were unworthy presents for my master, who is king of this country. The man who has sent them and the messages was quite wrong; such messages could only be sent by a master to a servant. It is not concealed from you that kings and beggars are independent, and never obey anybody. I gave all things back to the cossid, for they are useless in this country. I send you birds and seeds of the melon and water-melon, which my servant, Shama, will give you.

If you have any business of your own, I will always do it with great pleasure.

For God's sake, for God's sake, for God's sake (tukseer), pardon me for my presumption in speaking out as follows:—You have favourably recommended your friend, the European,
in

in your letter; I cannot do anything for him, because the holy Meer does not like Europeans; he even hates those who mention their name. Do you think it possible, therefore, that I can introduce your friend, the Faringee, to the Meer? No, no, I dare not do so; I would incur risk and danger. Pray excuse my refusal.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No 4.

TRANSLATION of a Letter in reply from Meer Moorad Beg, the Chief of Koondooz, to the Address of the late Dr. Gerard; received at Cabool 1834.

After Compliments,

YOUR letter, with the news of your health, explaining some circumstances and inquiring as to others about Moorcroft, reached me, and I fully understood what it contained.

It is well known that Moorcroft came to this country, and after some stay, went towards Bokhara along with his property, whence he returned in good health.

On his arrival at Muzar he fell ill and died: whatever property he had was taken by Shooja-oo-Deen Khan, the ruler of that place, and I know nothing about it.

You write also regarding the establishment of friendship with me, but reflect well how, for the dirty world, can I make friendship with the people of another faith. We are neither desirous of your friendship nor your enmity, nor do we wish intercourse with any one.

If any one, excited by animosity, comes into our country, we shall try our fortune, and not fail in anything as far as our power permits.

Whenever a person may happen to come here on commercial business, after paying the duty, according to the law of merchants, he shall get his leave. Even all the men of Europe may conduct trade through my country; I have no objection to it, but I have no desire to be friends with them.

The scissors and penknife reached me, and I send you, as you request, tea, 200 tollahs in weight.

(True copy.)

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(No. 61.)

From Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool, to *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

WITH reference to my letter of the 19th ultimo regarding the overtures of his Highness Meer Sobdar to the Ameer of Cabool, I have now the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that they have met with no favour from Dost Mahomed Khan.

2. I have at various times explained to the Ameer the nature of our position in Sinde, and the influence which we had established in that country; and though nothing could be more acceptable to the Chief of Cabool than money, he has informed Meer Sobdar that he wishes to have nothing to say to him, and he does so believing that such an answer pleases the British Government.

I have, &c.

Cabool,
5 November 1837.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William.

Sir,

WITH reference to the 10th paragraph of your letter of the 15th of May last, regarding the individual named Hajee Hoossain Ali Khan, who gave himself out as an ambassador from the Chief of Cabool, and whose credentials were forwarded to me, I have now the honour to report that I have shown the same to the principal secretary of Dost Mahomed Khan, and through him to the Chief, and that the whole is a fabrication from beginning to end, the individual in question not having been here for the last 14 years.

2. The Ameer of Cabool and his advisers are vexed at what has happened, and have been speculating on the mode of punishing such a knavish impostor, but I imagine that he will not give such an opportunity by visiting Cabool.

I have, &c.

Cabool,
6 November 1837.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that since my communication of the 31st ultimo, more authentic particulars regarding the movements of Persia have been received at this city, and it now appears certain that the Shah has not advanced beyond Meshid, and, all but probable, that his Majesty is still at Tehran, the rumours which are afloat having arisen in consequence of a party of 5,000 or 6,000 men accompanying the mother of the Shah on a pilgrimage to Meshid.

2. It is, however, considered quite certain that the Shah does entertain designs to the eastward, and as Herat is necessarily the point to which his attention would be first directed, Shah Kamran has become alarmed, quitted Laush, and returned to Herat, where he is now said to be engaged in repairing the ditch and fortress, and in storing wood and provisions. It therefore appears that, notwithstanding the tender of his allegiance to Persia, he has no intention of quietly submitting himself to that power.

3. There is no doubt that Herat, as it is described, is a place of some strength in this part of Asia, but there is only one opinion regarding Kamran, that he is a cruel and tyrannical man, very dissipated, without friends, and who can expect no assistance from his countrymen, over whom his oppressions are almost incredible. His minister, Yar Mahomed Khan, and Shere Mahomed Khan Huzara, are the great aids of Kamran; the one has ability, the other can command the services of 5,000 or 6,000 men, but the military strength of Herat cannot be of much consequence, as is proved by the investment of Laush ending unsuccessfully after a lapse of eight months. Kamran, however, has some treasure, and he has increased it and the number of his troops by selling his Shiah subjects to the Toorkmans, but funds so acquired must in the end, as it appears to me, weaken instead of strengthening him. It is, therefore, believed that Herat, if not surrendered to a Persian army, would be betrayed into their hands; and if the Shah chooses a proper season to march against it, the latter, I imagine, will be its fate.

4. While the cruelties experienced by all individuals of the Shiah creed lead the Shah of Persia to be revenged upon Herat, the Persians are, it is said, still further incited to its attack from the best roads to Orgunje and Bokhara (to which

which their ulterior attention is directed) leading from that city. I do not believe that Persia will ever make a successful inroad into their states, or put a stop to her subjects being enslaved, even if actively aided by Russia, for nothing but their permanent possession would arrest the odious system of man-selling now prevalent among them.

5. In advancing even upon Herat the Persians experience serious evils, for such is the position of Khiva and Bokhara, that all detachments and supplies are likely to be attacked by Toorkmans, and, if I can place credit on my informants, the King of Persia's last campaign was a most disastrous one in the loss of men and subjects thus kidnapped. The Khivans even marched off some of the Toorkmans under Persia, as well as some thousand Persian families. Herat will, therefore, be a very inconvenient position to retain possession of, supposing it to fall. It is to Persia what Peshawur is to the Sikhs; in the one the Shiah will excite religious animosity in their Soonce neighbours, as in the other the whole Mahomedan population are ever ready to enter on anything that can injure their Sikh rulers.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*,
Cabool, On a Mission to Cabool.
10 November 1837.

(No. 18.)

From *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
to Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin * in the former, containing a duplicate of your letter of the 9th of September.

2. In reply I am desired to state that your information as regards the mission of an elchee from Herat to the Shah of Persia is correct, though you do not appear to have been accurately informed, at the date of your letter, of the terms on which the ruler of Herat desires to be reconciled to her powerful neighbour. The particulars of this negotiation, and of the part which Mr. McNeill has taken in it, will doubtless reach you long before the receipt of this letter.

3. On the subject of your second letter I am merely desired to observe, for the present, that your account of the reception afforded to you at Cabool is highly gratifying to his Lordship, who does not doubt that you will turn to the best account the very favourable disposition manifested by the Ameer.

4. I am desired to take this opportunity of forwarding, for your information, the accompanying copy of a letter this day written by order of his Lordship to Captain Wade, as connected with the important objects of your mission.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Ghazeepore, Secretary to the Governor General of India.
13 November 1837.

(True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To

* Letter dated 18 September 1837, reporting that intelligence has just reached of Shah Kamram having acknowledged allegiance to Persia, and sent an elchee with presents to the Shah, at Tehran, that the circumstances would not appear to be known in Cabool, and stating what you believe the effect to be. Letter dated 24 September 1837, reporting your arrival at Cabool, the delivery of your credentials, and the gratifying reception of them and the mission in that capital, with your remarks.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the copy of a letter received some time since by the Amir of Cabool from his Excellency Count Simonitch, the Russian Ambassador at Tehran, likewise one from the Amir's agent forwarding the same. I append translations of these documents.

2. His Lordship in Council is already aware, by the Despatches of Her Majesty's Ambassador in Persia, that a communication was also addressed by the Russian Ambassador to the chief of Candahar [which fell into Mr. M'Neil's hands, and was transmitted by his Excellency to Lord Palmerston]. A double opportunity is now offered of judging of the designs and intentions of Russia in this quarter.

3. [Before my arrival in Cabool I had heard, through Mr. Masson, of the communication now forwarded; but some doubts had occurred as to its authenticity, from its wanting a signature, which can no longer be entertained. In the course of an interview with Mirza Sam'ec Khan, a few days ago, the conversation turned on Russian designs, and I at once asked him as to the communication which the Ameer had received from Russia, when he offered to show it to me, and sent it accordingly. Not the least remarkable portion of this communication is the accompaniment to the Russian ambassador's communication.]

4. If anything were wanting to bear out the correctness of Mr. M'Neil's views, as expressed in his Despatch of the 30th of June last to Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, regarding the encouragement given to Persia by Russia to extend her influence to the countries eastward, these papers now forwarded carry the clearest proof of it, for the Russian Ambassador himself commences the correspondence with the chief of Cabool, and tells him that if the Shah of Persia will not assist him his Court is ready to do so.

5. [I am glad to say that no answer has as yet been returned to Count Simonitch's letter, and I have every reason to believe that none will ever be sent, but in the now very improbable event of this chief's despairing of the sympathy and friendly feelings of the British Government.]

I have, &c.

Cabool,
15 November 1837.

(signed) *A. Burnes*,

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

[TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Russian Ambassador at Tehran, to the Address of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, of Cabool.

After Compliments,

IN these happy days the respectable Hajie Ibrahim Khan, one of your people, arrived at the door of his Majesty the Shah. He has now got leave to return to you, and I embrace the opportunity to write to you, being induced to do so by the praises which I am always hearing of you, and the friendly conversation which has passed between your man and myself. Through him, therefore, I send this friendly letter, and hope that you in future will keep up a correspondence with me.

Considering me your friend, I trust that you will strengthen the bonds of friendship by writing to me and freely commanding my services, as I shall always be happy to do anything for you.

Look upon me as your servant, and let me hear from you.



(Sealed)

Wuzecri Mookhtur, Dowlut Behayee Roosia.
Graf Ivan Simonitch.

No. 2.

[TRANSLATION of a Letter to Ameer of Cabool, forwarding the preceding from Hajee Ibrahim, his Agent at Tehran.

After Compliments,

I REACHED the camp of the Shah in the month of Jumadoolwul. When his Majesty learned the contents of your letter he was happy and kind to me. At that time the Shah was at Cushma Ali, seven marches from Tehran, near Dam Ghou. He stated that on arriving at Khalpush he would discharge me, with some message to you. On his reaching Khal Posh he went to punish the Turkmans, and I accompanied his Majesty as desired. When we returned to Shah Rood the winter set in, and the Shah, by the advice of his counsellors, left his artillery there, abandoned the intention of going to Herat this year, and returned to Tehran. He ordered his nobles to get ready by Nouroz for an expedition to Herat.

The Shah directed me to inform you that he will shortly send an elchi, who, after meeting you, will proceed to Runjeet Singh, to explain to him, on the part of the Shah, that if he (Runjeet) will not restore all the Affghan countries to you, the Ameer, he must be prepared to receive the Persian army. When the Shah takes Herat he has promised to send you money and any troops you want.

The Russian Ambassador, who is always with the Shah, has sent to you a letter, which I enclose. The substance of his verbal messages to you are, that if the Shah does everything you want, so much the better, and if not, the Russian Government will furnish you (the Ameer) with everything wanting.

The object of the Russian elchee by this message is to have a road to the English (India), and for this they are very anxious. He is waiting for your answer, and I am sure he will serve you. The letter you sent through Aga Mahomed Kushee pleased the Shah very much, and he (Mahomed Hoosein) will soon return to you.

The Asoofool Dowlah, the ruler of Khorasan, has written to the Shah that he saw Yar Mahomed Khan on this side of Turhut. He says that he has not power to oppose the Shah, but he will not serve him until the Shah gives him money to take Candahar and Cabool.

I send you the letter (firman) of the Shah, which will, I trust, meet approbation.

(True translation.)

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.]

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the following heads of intelligence, which have reached me by a cossid from Herat, who arrived in Cabool in 27 days. The cossid brings a letter from the Attar Bashee, a man of high respectability, bidding me give evidence to what he says; but of course the same reliance is not to be placed as if it had been written from Herat.

2. The King of Persia had reached Shahrood Boostan, half way to Meshid, where he had been met by the Asoofool Dowla, the Governor of Khorasan, who urged his Majesty not to advance on Herat at present, but settle the affairs of Ispahan and Shiraz, which are disordered, and return in the spring to Herat. His Majesty suspects the Asoofool Dowla of intriguing with Kamran, and is farther urged to advance by respectable people who have been driven from Herat.

3. The son of the Asoofool Dowla, who holds Meshid in his father's absence, has

however ordered a small body of troops, with some guns, to encamp outside the city, on the road to Herat. This movement is attributed by some to a letter which the ruler of Laush addressed to the Shah, and has for its object the prevention of Kamran's again investing that fortress. The chief of Laush is friendly to Persia from fear of Kamran.

4. "On the return of Futtch Khan from Tehran it was immediately given out that the British ambassador had sent a message to Kamran's vizier, Yar Mahomed Khan, to repair the fortress, collect all the Soonnees, and ask the aid of the Huzaras and Toorkmuns to resist Persia, all of which is now being done. The Toorkmuns in and about Shurukhs, as also the Suha Toorkmuns, have promised every support to resist the Shah, whose intentions, it is supposed, are to winter in Khorasan, and see if he cannot reduce Herat by stopping a supply of provisions.

5. "At the same time, Yar Mahomed Khan is certainly in correspondence with the Shah, and is even said to have invited his Majesty to Herat, and to make it his residence till it is convenient to march on Candahar and Cabool. For his good offices, Yar Mahomed Khan is promised the possession of Herat."

6. The Shah has also sent very valuable presents to Shere Mahomed Khan, the Huzaree chief, who is an adherent or rather an abettor of Kamran. With these he has made a request that he would not assist Kamran when attacked by the Persian army.

7. "The intention of the chief of Candahar to despatch one of his sons with the Shah's elchee, on his return to Persia, has reached Herat and given great dissatisfaction. Yar Mahomed Khan has even written a letter of remonstrance, declaring that no Affghan had ever so disgraced himself. Shumso Deen Khan Populzye, a connexion of Kamran's, now pitched at Kela Kah, near Seistan, is instructed to seize, if possible, the Chief of Candahar's son, on his road to Persia, and the Affghans of Bukwa, near Furrah, have promised to assist him. The route of the Persian mission, on its return, will be by Seistan to Kacen, Burjon, and Meshid or Tehran, the chief of Seistan, the son of Khan Jan, who is a Shiah, having received a sum of money from Persia to give protection through his country.

8. These reports serve to explain the cause of excitement in Herat and this country. Since they arrived, your letter of the 28th of August, enclosing the copies of the Despatches of Her Majesty's Ambassador in Persia, reached me on the 11th instant, but the paragraph No. 3, alluded to as having been addressed to his Excellency, has been (my mistake, I suppose) omitted. The good effect, however, of Mr. MacNeill's intervention in the affairs of Herat, is already, as his Lordship in Council will observe, beginning to show itself in Affghanistan. I have felt myself much strengthened by the receipt of so full an account of the ambassador's proceedings, and I have not failed to keep him informed of all that is passing here.

I have, &c.

Cabool,
16 November 1837.

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool:

To W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

WITHOUT waiting for the reply of my communication to the Chief of Candahar, I consider it advisable to dispatch by this opportunity the annexed document, which purports to be the heads of a treaty between the Shah of Persia and the Sirdars of Candahar. I have seen the original paper, which arrived

arrived here a few days ago, [and was sent to me by the Ameer,] so that there is no doubt of its authenticity.

2. On the afternoon of the 13th instant, I was specially invited by the Ameer to the Bala Hissar, and had an opportunity of conversing with Dost Mahomed Khan on matters of some moment, as well as the subject of this paper. He proceeded to inform me that its contents had given him great dissatisfaction, and that probably a corresponding feeling would arise in the mind of the British Government on account of it; that it was very evident there was some crisis at hand in the affairs to the west; and that Herat certainly, and Candahar probably, would fall into the hands of Persia, if some arrangement were not speedily entered upon to check her approach, as it was very clear, from every account, that Persia could not of herself act in this manner; she must be assisted by Russia. [His motive for having sought this private interview was to assure me that he was entirely English in his views, interests, and opinions, and that his position, services, and power were at our disposal to check these inroads; but it was very advisable in such a state of things to act betimes.]

3. I thanked the Ameer for his friendly declaration, and assured him that I would convey it to his Lordship in Council; but at the same time I thought it right to assure him that I did not attach much importance to the heads of the treaty between Candahar and Persia which he had sent to me. From it, I admitted that before his or my letters could get to Candahar, or had been written, that the result of Kumber Ali Khan's visit there had generated a resolution to depute a son of Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan to Persia, which might or might not be put into effect; but] I observed that among other very dubious portions of the treaty, was a promise that the British Ambassador in Persia would see its terms fulfilled on this point. I found myself at liberty to state most unhesitatingly that no such promise would be fulfilled, and that an unjustifiable use had been made of the name of the British Government in that document, since it was contrary to its policy to hew down Herat for the benefit of Candahar. I could not also help observing that the whole of the stipulations seemed in favour of Candahar, and I questioned very much the authority on which the Persian elchee had made them.

[4. With reference to Herat, I told the Ameer that I relied on the intelligence which I had received both from that city and Persia that there was no immediate danger of its being attacked, and that when the time did arrive, it was satisfactory to think that the British Government had so willing and ready a friend in this quarter as himself, and that next to shunning all communication with the Persian elchee deputed to him, the present declaration must be held as the best proof of his sincerity.]

5. By the 14th paragraph of instructions issued to me on the 14th of September last, I am authorised to proceed to Candahar or Herat, but that at present seems neither advisable nor necessary, since the influence of our name is strengthened by the friendly footing that has been secured in Cabool. It however appears from the accompaniment to Mr. McNeill's letter of the 30th of June last, that the Persian Government is not likely to desist from its designs against Herat and this quarter; and assuredly the disposition of the Candahar Sirdars, which will of course be made the most of by the elchee, is not calculated to turn away their attention. It may, perhaps, therefore appear worthy of the consideration of his Lordship in Council to decide how far Government will go in its offers, whether of money, countenance, or protection, to detach the Chiefs of Afghanistan from a Persian alliance. I am in great hopes that through the Chief of Cabool alone we may ultimately succeed in accomplishing that which is desired; but when Herat is threatened from day to day, and may fall, it will not, I respectfully believe, be considered premature to deliberate on what is to be done in that event in Cabool and Candahar.]

I have, &c.

Cabool,
19 November 1837.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

[TRANSLATION of a Note from Mooltah Abdool Rashid, the Chief Manager of Kohin Dil, Khan of Candahar, to the Address of Ameer Dost Mahomed, Khan of Cabool.

THE treaty which the Sirdars have made with Kumber Ali Khan is as follows: When Taj Mahomed Khan was at Tehran, the Shah spoke to him about Herat, and promised if any of the brothers sent one of their sons to him, and he was assured of their fidelity, he would give them Herat, and never intrude upon the country of the Afghans. The Persian troops will be considered as under the Sirdars; we are never to make friendship with Kamran. The expedition for the taking of Herat must be undertaken according to the wishes of the Sirdars. Whatever number of forces, either small or large, are required for assistance, the Shah is to furnish them, and they are to be under us. On the arrival of Mahomed Omar Khan at Tehran, with Kumber Ali Khan, the treaty made here must be shown by the Shah to the Ambassadors of Russia and England. They, with the two Viziers of the Shah, are to witness it, and be responsible for the oath, also for the manner in which the Shah receives Mahomed Omar Khan. The Shah will then send us money for the expenses of 12,000 cavalry and 24 guns. When everything for the troops is completed, we are to march and encamp at Furash Rood; on our arrival there, one of the two Viziers of the Shah must come to us, with Kumber Ali Khan, and bring money for the troops. The Vizier is also to convince us of the preservation of the articles of the treaty on the part of the Shah. After this, Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan is to accompany the Vizier to the Shah at Meshid, and whatever number of troops he may want he is to take from the Shah, and then march against Herat, the expenses of the army being paid by the Shah. By the grace of God, when Herat is conquered, we are to be left masters of it. After taking the city, the Shah requires from us in return, that whenever he may have any civil war in Persia, we must assist him. Such are the articles of the treaty, which after it bears the seals of the Shah's two Viziers and the Russian and English Ambassador, must be returned to us. Mahomed is going for this purpose, but we do not know what are the wishes of God, and what will happen.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.]

(True copies.)

(signed) W. H. Macnaghten,
Secretary to the Government of India.

To W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

- No. 1. I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the translation of a letter of some importance from Maharajah Runjeet Singh, which has just reached me through Lieutenant Mackeson, with a request that I would send an early answer.
- No. 2. I have not delayed in doing so, and annex also a copy of the same, which, after due consideration, it seemed fitting I should address to his Highness.

2. I have forwarded the original for his Highness through Lieutenant Mackeson, who by this time is in the Maharajah's camp, and I have requested that officer to transmit this communication through Captain Wade, that he may peruse it as it passes on to Government.

Cabool,
25 November 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Maharajah Runjeet Singh to the Address of Captain A. Burnes, received at Cabool 25 November 1837.

After Compliments,

By the grace of Shree Akal Poorukhjee, there is a great and everlasting friendship between the two Governments, namely, the Khalsa and the Company. You are my old friend, therefore I anxiously hope that you will let me hear of your good health, and the affairs in which you are now engaged. I was certain from the first day that everything you did would be agreeable, and not fail to increase the friendship of the two Courts; but since I have had the pleasure to receive the friendly letter from the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, I have entire confidence in you.

His Lordship writes to me that you will always consult with me and take my advice in the circumstances you are engaged in that quarter, and will never perform any business without my knowledge, for the friendship between the two Governments is very great. This message from his Lordship has given me great peace of mind.

My friend, the friendship of the two Governments, which is strengthened by engagements and treaty, is as well known as the brightness of the sun, and the circumstances as well as the agreements of the people of Wilayat (Afghans), are not concealed from you; they are self-interested, and do not require my explanation to you.

Since the country of Peshawur fell into my hands, its chiefs, Sooltan Mahomed and Peer Mahomed Khan, are under me. They are pleased with me, and have received jageers (land) producing many laes of rupees in return for their faithful service, and the horses of noble breed which they present to me. Keeping all these things before you, I hope you will do such business as may prove beneficial to both Governments, and also may not create any injury to the countries under me.

Let me hear from you, as I am always desirous to learn your welfare.

TRANSLATION of an Enclosure.

After Compliments,

I AM sure that you will ever preserve the laws of friendship, agreeably to the sacred engagements which exist between the two Governments, and that, wherever you may be, you will do all in your power to increase it; further, that you will never lend your ears to the conversation of those who are not friendly, for the word of the English is famed throughout the world.

(A true translation.)

(signed) A. Burnes, on a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

COPY of a Letter from Captain Burnes to Maharajah Runjeet Singh, sent from Cabool on 25 November 1837.

After Compliments,

At this happy moment I have had great satisfaction in receiving your most friendly letter from the banks of the Jehum. It is only three or four days since I had the honour to write to you, and in such a manner that the letter then sent seems to be the answer to your present acceptable communication; but friends never can correspond too frequently with one another, and I hasten to reply.

In truth, I am day and night considering how I may so conduct myself as will prove satisfactory to your Highness. Everything which I say and do in this country has reference to preserving firm the great friendship which, by the blessing of God, unites the Khalsa and the British Governments. My superiors have, as you correctly note, directed me to give no ear to those who are unfriendly towards you. Be satisfied on this point. My Government have no objects here separate from those of your Highness; the British and Sikh Governments are therefore as one in my eye, and the cordiality subsisting between them is known from Chien to Room. I never think of you but as one of the oldest and best allies of the British Government; I never speak of you to the people of Wilayat (the Afghans) but as a particular friend (khaass dost); and when I have the honour to receive a letter from you, I produce it to prove how cordial is the alliance. Besides attending to the orders of my masters, I assure you that I bear in remembrance the great condescension formerly shown to me by yourself, and I feel proud to think that you honour me with the name of your old friend (qudeem dost).

All which has taken place here I have written in detail to Captain Wade, who, besides
1—Sess. 2. H 4 being

being your valued friend, possesses the high confidence of Government. I never conceal from him, who is also my friend, a single circumstance which interests your Highness, and I need not therefore say anything of what is passing here than to beg your Highness to be certain that nothing will ever be done that would cause loss or injury, which God avert from so dear an ally.

It is known to your Highness, from the letter of the Right Honourable the Governor General, Lord Auckland, that his Lordship deputed me here as his agent to concert measures for facilitating traffic in this and the adjoining countries. It was not known at that time that any other matters would arise to engage attention in this country, but I assured your son, the Kour Khurruck Sing, and your respectable Sirdars at Peshawur, that nothing would ever be done in this quarter which could diminish the friendship between the two Governments, which are as one; and your Highness knows well, and has mentioned in your letter, how sacred is the word of the English.

All that you have written I perfectly understand; also what you say regarding Peshawur, and the horses which your Highness received as tribute from its Sirdars. That is as apparent as the sun at noon, and I keep it all in remembrance, and consider every one the enemy of my Government, who speaks of your Highness but as one of the oldest and best friends of the British nation. The horrors of war, as your Highness is aware, are very great, and God grant that peace and harmony may be established in this quarter with you, his Highness's permission: for there is no object of greater solicitude to the British Government than it: and, as your Highness knows, it founds its hopes on the great friendship which exists between the two Governments, and which is the envy of the world.

I need trouble your Highness no further. I shall write often to Captain Wade, who is the Agent of the Governor General at your Court, and through whom all its wishes are expressed. If I do not write more fully, you will therefore forgive it, since Captain Wade constantly learns from me everything that has passed here, and everything that will pass.

I shall always be honoured by hearing from you, as I rejoice to know of your welfare.

(True copy.)

(signed) *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

(No. 55.)

From *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
to Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin,* and, in reply, to forward to you the accompanying copy of a letter this day written to Captain Wade on the subjects noticed in those communications.

2. You

* Letter dated 9 October 1837, reporting the aid which he has received from Mr. Masson since he has been deputed to Cabool, and acknowledging the assistance you have derived on all subjects from the high literary attainments and the accurate knowledge of that gentleman regarding Cabool. Letter dated 11th October 1837, annexing copy of a letter to my address, the original of which you have given to two of the principal Sobani merchants, suggesting the propriety of their being presented to the Governor General, and stating your reason for introducing these gentlemen. Letter dated 14 October 1837, submitting a special report on the influence of the Kūzzilbash party in Afghanistan, tracing its rise from Nadir Shah to the present time, and exhibiting the means of intrigue which it presents to any power, but particularly to Persia and Russia. Letter dated 19 October 1837, reporting on overtures made to Dost Mahomed Khan by Meer Sobdar, your impressions regarding that chief's power in Sindh, and the receipt of letters from the principal Amceers counteracting the effect of this correspondence with Cabool. Letter of 20 October, reporting on the commercial prospects and views of Russia towards Central Asia, and her communications with Bokhara, &c., with your remarks and observations. Letter dated 21 October 1837, reporting the proceedings of the Persian elchee in Afghanistan, of his having been recalled by the Candahar Sirdars when on his way to Cabool, of his leaving Candahar for Persia with a son of the chief, and the steps taken by Dost Mahomed Khan in consequence, and noticing the contents of a letter from the Chief of Kandahar.

2. You have been already apprised by my letter to Captain Wade, a copy of which was sent to you on the 25th ultimo, that in the opinion of the Governor General the Maharajah will not be disposed to surrender Peshawur on the terms proposed by the Ameer; that Dost Mahomed's relinquishment of all connexion with Persia should be made a condition preliminary to our entering into any negotiation with Runjeet Singh on the subject of existing differences; that the undoubted policy of the British Government is to preserve unimpaired the existing state of affairs in Central Asia, and to refrain from being a party to an arrangement which should give to any one chief an undue preponderance; which, for instance, should enable Dost Mahomed to subdue Candahar, or to aid Persia in the subjugation of Herat; and that, subject to this proviso, his Lordship would be gratified at hearing of the adjustment of the differences between the Sikhs and the Afghans, whether such adjustment should be founded on the basis of making Khyber the boundary, of reinstating Sultan Mahomed in the Government of Peshawar, of surrendering that possession to the Ameer on the terms proposed, or of any other arrangement.

3. The Governor General has now re-perused the whole of the recent correspondence regarding the differences between Runjeet Singh and Dost Mahomed, and the state of Central Asia generally. His Lordship is of opinion that you have entitled yourself to the approbation of Government by the clear and comprehensive views and opinions which you have recorded on the political condition and prospects of Central Asia, no less than by the valuable information which you have afforded relative to commercial matters, which formed the primary object of your mission.

4. It occurs, however, to his Lordship, that a few words of caution may be necessary in regard to the pretensions of Dost Mahomed, who may perhaps be too sanguine in regard to the effect of our good offices should they be exerted in his favour. His immediate recovery of Peshawur would seem to be hopeless, and it should, his Lordship thinks, be impressed upon that chief as his best policy at present, to seek for peace and security in his actual position, and to concentrate and strengthen his existing resources, which cannot, in his present position, but be weakened by too restless and impatient a desire to extend them.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Governor General of India.

Head Quarters, Camp Allahabad,
2 December 1837.

(True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to forward the result of my inquiries regarding the political state of Cabool, which I have to request you will favour me by respectfully submitting for the notice and consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*.

Cabool, 3 December 1837.

(True copy.)
(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

ON THE POLITICAL STATE OF CABOOL.

ite of Cabool,
iewed politically
ad commercially.

IN treating on Cabool, it is necessary to guard the mind from including under that head the vast kingdom which once extended from Meshid to Delhi, and from the ocean to Cashmere. We are only to speak of the small and flourishing territory which surrounds the capital of that decayed monarchy, though we shall not fail to be struck with the miniature resemblance which it still bears to the empire of the Dooranees. As a city, Cabool owes more importance to its position, which is central for commerce, than being the seat of a government; and it has, therefore, stemmed with success the various revolutions which have disturbed the general peace of the country. Invigorated as it is by this independence, there are few positions in the East better adapted for a metropolis. Its political advantages, though in a degree inferior to its commercial, are enhanced by them, since Cabool has a rapid and regular communication with the countries adjacent, and is supplied at the same time with accurate information of what passes in them, and the abundant resources of foreign lands. It has not the wealth, nor has it the exuberant productions of India or even Bokhara, but it has a race of people far more hardy, who have for the last eight or nine centuries enabled the possessors of Cabool to overrun the surrounding countries. Dynasty after dynasty has issued from their mountains, and used in succession as trophies of their valour and success, the riches and the revenue of the lands which they subdued. The last race of its kings, the Sudozye descendants of Ahmed Shah, a general of Nadir, have also been swept away, and in their place arises the tribe of Barukzye, who rule their native soil, and may in time, like their predecessors, extend the circle of their power.

Extent of chief-
ship, and how
uled.

2. The present ruler of Cabool is Dost Mahomed Khan, the first of his tribe who assumed, a few years ago, the title of Ameer. The chiefship comprehends the country extending from Hindoo Koosh to the southward of Ghuzni, and from Bamecan to the mountains of Khyber. The eastern portion, or Julalabad, is an addition since I wrote in 1832, and has increased this chief's revenue from 18 to 24 laes of rupees per annum. This territory is apportioned in separate governments to the different sons of the Ameer, a policy which is more wise than popular. The brother who ruled Ghuzni, Ameer Khan, is dead, and that district is also held by one of his own family. The distribution is as follows: Meer Ufzul Khan, the eldest son, holds Zoomut, an agricultural district east of Ghuzni; Mahomed Akbar Khan Sirdar, the favourite son, has Julalabad, and is constituted chief of the Ghilzees; Azam Khan has charge of Bamecan, Beesoot, and the Hazaras, tributary to Cabool; Hyder Khan has charge of the Kohistan, having lately been ejected from Ghuzni, to make way for the Ameer's son; and when another of the youths is old enough, he will probably be again removed to make way for him. The Ameer himself governs Cabool, where he usually resides, and along with him is his brother, the Nuwab Jubbar Khan. He has a park of 45 guns, all of which are serviceable, about 2,500 "Juzzailchees," or infantry, armed with a musket as large as a wall-piece, which is used with a rest, and 12,000 or 13,000 horse, one-twelfth of which are Kuzzilbashes. About 9,000 of these are highly efficient; 3,000 ride the Government horses, and receive pay; a system of raising troops, called "unlaee," new in Afghanistan, and in which Dost Mahomed Khan considers a great portion of his strength to lie. Such is a brief account of the means of offence and defence possessed by the Chief of Cabool.

Effect of the war
with the Sikhs on
the east frontier.

3. To a position from which the destinies of nations may be commanded, it is to be supposed the attention of others is directed. Too weak to pursue foreign conquests on a large scale, the Chief of Cabool is, however, strong enough to resist those around him; and the rugged nature of his country gives to his troops a power which frees him from every hazard. In his wars with the Sikhs, who are a very powerful nation so long as they are ruled by their present chief, this has been singularly exemplified, but similar success might not attend a campaign in any other direction, since religious animosity here inspirits the Mahomedan to war against the enemies of his faith. As it seems clear that no permanent impression could be made by the Chief of Cabool on the conquests of the Sikhs in the plains of Peshawur, the attention of the Afghans is probably turned in that direction, from some fear of the ruler of the

Punjab

Punjab pursuing his conquests to Cabool, but there is even less chance of permanent success to Sikh arms in this quarter. The nature of Dost Mahomed Khan's position is only hazardous, as it compels him to dissipate his resources in defensive preparations, which cripple his power, and augment the discontent of his followers, whom his revenues at no time admit of being liberally rewarded. A cessation of hostilities with the Sikhs would release him from this evil, though it will be attended with the counterpoise that many of the Mahomedan tribes inhabiting the mountains of eastern Afghanistan, stretching to the valley of the Indus, who now regard the ruler of Cabool as the champion of Islam, might then view him simply as an ambitious ruler seeking for personal aggrandisement, which would certainly diminish their ardour as his auxiliaries. From no direction but the east, however, has Dost Mahomed Khan to fear an opponent; and a diminution of his enemies will have the same effect as an actual increase to his resources, and with an improvement of these there cannot be a doubt of his power being considerably enlarged. Such, indeed, is the military position of Cabool that if the governor of the city have any stability, a sum of money placed at his disposal can always command the presence of good troops, and the service performed will, of course be to the advantage of the donor. In the time of the monarchy, the benefit of the money thus used resulted to the State; in the present condition of the chiefship, it would fall to the power that advanced it, which gives the ruler of Cabool no small influence in this part of Asia.

4. To the north of Cabool the mountainous regions of Hindoo Koosh make it difficult for the chief to extend his power, or for others to invade him. The ruler of Koondooz, Meer Moorad Beg, has no cordiality with Dost Mahomed Khan, which arises from fear of his power; for if freed from employment elsewhere, the Chief of Cabool could make a successful inroad upon him. Moorad Beg's power is considerable, and it improves, but his troops excel more in a foray than war. He might make a "chupao," on Bamcean, but the retaliation would be ruinous to him. The independent Uzbek States, west of Koondooz and Balkh, such as Siripool, Shilbergan, and Maimuna keep up little or no understanding with one another, and would fall a prey to the first power that attacked them. Bokhara, to the north, is protected by its remote situation in the desert, and the character for commerce and religion which it possesses. The ruler of it has just sent an envoy to Cabool, to congratulate the chief on the successful issue of his wars with the Sikhs. The Meer of Koondooz divined, and probably not erroneously, evils to himself from a league that places him between two powers, any one of which might crush him, but whose ability to do so is undoubted when bound together by friendly ties. Moorad Beg resented the formation of this alliance, first, by threatening to seize the envoy, and next by shutting up the road of the caravan; but his suspicions have been removed, or for a time lulled, and a change of presents and friendly expressions has passed between the chiefs of Cabool and Koondooz. Not so, however, between the latter chief and the King of Bokhara, whose dignity is offended by a fort being planted on one of the canals of Balkh. From it Moorad Beg conducts his plundering expeditions on the poor Huzaras; and his dislodgment from a site so profitable is not likely to be effected by the greater moral influence of Bokhara, or by any means but a military expedition undertaken for the purpose.

Relations with
Koondooz and the
northern states.

5. Candahar to the west is still held by the brothers of the Chief of Cabool who profess homage if they do not at all times exhibit it. Since 1832, the Ex-king Sooja Ool Moolk sought to regain his lost empire, near Kandahar: the Chief of Cabool promptly quitted his own frontier, combined with his brother, and saved them, and himself by victory. The common interest dictated these proceedings, and on matters which relate to the family and the Barukzye ascendancy in Afghanistan, the conduct and the professions of the Candahar Chiefs towards Cabool tally with one another. They address Dost Mahomed Khan as inferiors, they seek his counsel as the head of their family, and they follow it when given. Such, however, is not altogether the case in their relation with foreign states. Their advanced position to the west places them in jeopardy from Herat and Persia, and at this time their alarm has led them if not to slight the advice of their brother in Cabool, to court an alliance with Persia, contrary to his avowed wishes. They declare themselves helpless, if they

With Candahar
and the west and
south.

range their troops against Persia, since they will then have no protection from Herat, and if that city becomes subservient to Persian interests without a co-operation on their part, their fate is equally certain. This, however, is a temporary inconvenience which a settlement of the affairs of Herat may remedy, if not, Candahar itself may be overthrown, and through it the interests of Cabool most materially affected. Nor would the Kuzzilbash or Persian faction resident in Cabool, with its present feelings, be an useless instrument in the hands of the Shah, to sap the independence of the Afghans in their capital city. On the south the Chief of Cabool has nothing to fear, the country, which is mountainous and in many parts barren, being held by wild Afghan tribes, who are all independent of each other, and if they do not increase his strength, are sure not to be numbered among his enemies.

Connexion of
Cabool with
Persia.

6. When the great monarchies of Cabool and Persia adjoined each other, an intercourse usual among neighbouring nations existed between them; a desire to avert evil from Sikh encroachment lately led the Chiefs of Afghanistan to sue for a renewal of it, but at no time were the feelings between Afghans and Persians cordial, and their sympathy one with another, considering their difference of creed, must ever be unnatural. Much more so is any connexion at the present time, when Persia exists as a monarchy, and Cabool is dismembered into small principalities, yet the deeds of Nadir are held fresh in remembrance, and some ill-defined ideas of Persian glory, at the beginning of a new reign flitting before the Chiefs of Afghanistan, contributed to their dread, and hastened their anxiety to propitiate. The zeal of the Chief of Cabool was quickened by his solicitude real or pretended, to war with his infidel adversaries, the Sikhs, but he seems to have forgotten that he sought to introduce among his countrymen, those whom they considered to be greater enemies. It was also equally certain that the power of Persia, being a consolidated one, would prove fatal to himself and all the reigning Chiefs of Cabool. The Afghans would have been conquered in detail by those whom they sought as auxiliaries, for though each chiefship had a ruler, the country is without one head, and the natural jealousy and inveterate hatred to which divided power gives rise, would have made it appear as an unoccupied land, and hastened its fall. Interested persons urged the Afghan Chiefs to this line of policy. Persia saw the advantage with which she could enter the land, and counselled by Russia, speedily responded to their call with abundance of worthless promises, which the same advisers pronounced to be the signs of favour and condescension. The style of address, however, which was that of a master to a subject, first roused the suspicion of Dost Mahomed Khan, and a demonstration on the part of the British Government to sympathise with him, which arrived about the same time, fixed him in the determination of preferring any terms which a nearer and more potent power might offer, to a distant and dubious alliance with Persia.

Prospects of the
exiled family.

7. In a country where a family that has once held the executive power is dethroned, the members of it never fail to exercise some influence on its policy. This is the case with the Sudozyes in Cabool; Sooja Ool Moolk's claims have suffered depreciation since 1832, when the attempts to recover his crown proved fruitless, and the more so, as its failure is by many attributed to his own want of energy and decision. It is true that the Kuzzilbashes, dissatisfied at not reaping the full reward for their promotion of Dost Mahomed Khan, were disposed to promote Shooja's views in opposition to those of the Ameer, but his success was doubtful even with their aid, and perhaps his best hopes of it were grounded on the report he industriously spread, and which was in part believed, that the British Government countenanced his expedition. The long residence of the Shah at Loodiana, his being permitted to raise troops there, and his leaving his family to receive our protection and support, together with other circumstances, gave a stamp to these rumours which has only been effaced by public disavowal. There is however a family connexion between Shooja Ool Moolk and the Chief of Cabool, which led one party in the state to believe that there really was an understanding between them. The sister of Dost Mahomed Khan is the wife of the Shah, and the mother of Shahzada Akbar, who is a promising youth that avows his partiality for his uncle. Nor is this the only relationship, for the two daughters of Hajee Rahmut Oolla are married to the Shah and the Ameer, and the wife of the latter exercises the greatest influence over him, and is the mother of Mahomed Akbar Khan, the favoured son, who lately distinguished

distinguished himself at Peshawur. The Chief of Cabool is regular in corresponding with his sister, he has often expressed a wish to have his nephew with him, and even gave instructions about his capture in the Candahar campaign. Yet the bonds of alliance springing from intermarriages have little influence over eastern rulers, and though in this instance they are much strengthened by the circumstances which have been stated, Dost Mahomed Khan is never likely to give willing place to Shooja Ool Moolk, nor to admit the claims of any of his family till matters bear a different aspect from the present. The Chief of Cabool has it assuredly in his power to act a part, as Monk did towards Charles the Second, in a restoration, but his own power, as it goes on increasing, naturally raises up ambitious feelings in his own behalf. Shah Eyoob, the dethroned king, who received an asylum at Lahore, is just dead, and the only other aspirant to the throne is Kamran of Herat. The dissipated habits of that ruler, together with the oppressions lately committed by him in western Afghanistan, greatly diminish his chances of success, and he is besides at equal enmity with the Barukzye Chiefs and the Kazzilbashes, who are hostile to him individually for the murder of their respective chiefs. It is nevertheless true that he or his sons being Sudoozyes might prove formidable when aided by Persia. If Herat becomes an integral portion of that kingdom, they will find a favourable opportunity of asserting claims which are not without weight, and might unsettle the countries. Herat itself is not likely to strike a decisive blow at any part of the Afghan dominions, but Candahar; and if the ruler of Cabool is freed from his fears of the Sikhs, that chiefship will not only be secure against the inroads of Kamran and his family, but Herat itself, now threatened from the west, may be united to Cabool.

8. To a point where so much attention is directed, a healthful rule can only crush the aspirings of the ambitious, and the intrigues of the discontented. For the last 11 years, Dost Mahomed Khan has gathered strength as he goes, but the additions to his power have brought with them cares and anxieties which have of late been unfavourable to his popularity. The Kings of Persia and Bokhara may congratulate him, and perhaps sincerely, on his success against infidels, but he has purchased that at an expensive price—a share of the good will in the subject and the merchant, though these readily admit his necessities, and some even point to his triumphs. Wars are not carried on without money, and an increase of duties and taxes, a resumption of some lands assigned for charity (wakfiyah) which had no heirs, a lapse of the jagheers of Hajee Khan Kaker, and some of those disaffected to him, together with loans and fines, somewhat arbitrarily taken, and a reduction of allowances, are the means to which the Ameer has resorted for increasing his army, which is now too large for his country. The evidences of success in his campaign at Candahar and Peshawur have as yet borne him through his difficulties, but as reverses would have prostrated him, his experiment was hazardous in the extreme. To the vigilance which he has exercised over every branch of the administration, his success is attributable; his sole aim is money, and he seeks for it from a full knowledge of what it can purchase; he expends his entire income, though his own household is maintained on the economical scale of 5,000 rupees a month; his comprehension is quick, and knowledge of character very great; he cannot be long deceived; he listens to every individual who complains, and with a forbearance and temper which is more highly praised than his equity and justice; in matters of a trifling nature he still follows the law (shura), but in greater things his necessities have tarnished his decisions, though, as these affect the wealthier and least numerous portion of his subjects, without a general dissatisfaction. Nothing marks the man's superiority to his countrymen more than the ability to manage as he does, with power and resources so crippled. His patience and delays bespeak ambition, and as a rash act might be fatal to him, his caution is extreme, and his suspicion so easily excited as to amount almost to infirmity, though self-reflection brings back with it his self-confidence. A peace with his eastern neighbour would certainly render the power of this man durable, and enable him to reduce his army and expenses, but as his fame has outstripped his power, he might covet the dominions of his western neighbours, and if he were, as before he came in contact with the Sikhs, less exacting, which his good sense would dictate to him, he might consolidate his power and fix himself as the first of a new dynasty in Cabool.

Government of
Dost Mahomed
Khan; his cha-
racter.

His brother, the celebrated Futteh Khan, long since pronounced him to be the hope of his family, and his subsequent career has justified the expectations, though his sincerity in his religious wars and religious government may proceed, instead of orthodoxy, from ambition.

Prices and supplies
consequent on it.

9. The state of parties in Cabool, and the policy pursued by the Ameer, have had a singular effect on the prices and supplies of the country. The quantity of grain received in former times by a soldier as his pay, or by a proprietor from his lands, is unaltered, but such is the complaint of a want of money, that the value of grain is now deteriorated by one-third, and often by a half. It was at one time unusual, and even considered a disgrace to part with land in Cabool, but it may be now had at from six to seven years' purchase, and is for sale everywhere. During the monarchy, the Afghans went in the course of their service to Peshawur, Sinde, Cashmere, and other provinces, and brought back with them their savings. No such opportunities now present themselves, the Koh-i-Daman, Jellalabad, and Lughman, are their Sinde and Cashmeer, though it is a novel complaint to hear declarations of poverty, when provisions are to be purchased at a rate much more moderate than during the monarchy. In the time of the Sudozyes, the territories around the city of Cabool were held principally by favoured individuals, and others yielded no revenue. Inability to pursue the course of the rulers of those days has compelled the Ameer to look around him, and he has subdued the Kohistan, and several districts which contributed nothing to the expenses of the government. These tribes set at defiance the kings of Cabool, and history makes honourable mention of the resistance that they offered to Baber, Nadir, and the other conquerors; but their independence has not been broken without a struggle, and 3,000 or 4,000 families of the Kohistan have fled the country and sought a home in Balkh, and the valley of the Oxus. There is no evidence, however, that this migration has lessened the quantity of grain, though the Kohistan partly supplies the city, for a greater industry now characterises the agriculturist than formerly. With a revenue of 80 or 90 lacks of rupees, which I learn was the extreme amount of receipts by the Sudozye princes, they were careless of the small sums that could be exacted from such troublesome subjects, but a revenue of 24 or 25 lacs of rupees, with foreign enemies to combat, required a greater vigour in the internal government, and has procured for Dost Mahomed Khan obedient, though not over-willing subjects, near his own door, who may in time avail him. The effect of it would also seem to be, what is so much sought in every government, cheap provisions for his people. It may however be said that a scarcity of money, with low prices, indicates some irregularity in the state of affairs, yet the interest on money is but 6 per cent. per annum, and lower by half than is common among the native government in India.

Effect of govern-
ment on trade.

10. When state expediency renders it necessary to demand a greater amount of duties than usage has authorised, commerce must receive a check. At this time the transit trade of this country still continues to increase, and it must have become greater than it even is, but for the burthens which press upon it. Some grievances, however, have been got rid of by the custom-house being no longer farmed and managed directly under the chief. Cabool can no longer boast of taking only one in 40, like Bokhara, but as compared with Persia, Herat, Candahar, and the Punjab, Cabool is yet a theme of approbation with the trading community. A Jew from Bhawulpore, whose authority ought to be good, declared to me that the treatment of merchants in Cabool was as under the kings of Israel; that the Afghans were free from prejudices, behaved well, did not overtax them, and that the duties which the Ameer had lately demanded of them, were such as any ruler would take under difficulties. It strikes an European with surprise that any merchants frequent marts, where the duties are so liable to be changed, but there are certain broad lines which the ruler must never depart from, or the channel of commerce by his country is deserted. The Ameer has not lost sight of this, and the custom-house duties of Cabool now yield two lacs, and 22,000 rupees per annum, while it was formerly but 82,000 rupees, nor can more than 15,000 or 20,000 of these receipts be attributed to increased duties. At the present time the profit on English goods brought from India to Cabool, is rated at 50 per cent., and if they are pushed on to Bokhara, they give a cent. per cent. return; and it will not place the

the administration of Dost Mahomed Khan in a light that will be considered too favourable to him or unjust to others, when I observe, that the shawls of Cashmere, which are sent into Persia and Turkey, pass through Cabool, and Bokhara to Meshid, the merchants preferring this circuitous road to the oppression which they are sure to experience in Candahar and Herat. But as the state of commerce in this country will be discussed elsewhere, it is at present sufficient to notice the effect of the government upon this most important portion of national economy.

11. The system of government among the Afghans is too well known to require any recapitulation from me. The republican genius which marks it is unchanged, and whatever power a Sudozye or a Barukzye may acquire, its preservation can only be ensured by not infringing the rights of the tribes and the laws by which they are allowed to govern themselves. The Ameer of Cabool has not erred in this point, and though he cannot reckon among his well wishers those who were favoured by the dynasty which he succeeded, he has a large body of the community in his favour, or, at least, to applaud the administration. Nothing but his limited revenues prevent his being a most popular ruler, and with this advantage even his name is seldom mentioned beyond the precincts of his court but with respect. The family of the Barukzye, though inferior in rank to that of the last which held the throne, is yet one of the most distinguished of the Doorance tribes belonging to the Zeeruk branch, from which the Sudozyes also descend. They possessed such influence even in Ahmed Shah's time, that, according to tradition, and the best authenticated histories, he considered it advisable to divide them into two classes, Barukzye and Atchukzye, and after that they were rated at 12,000 families. They cannot, therefore, be viewed in the light of a tribe suddenly raised, since, in power and rank they have long been of importance in the country. They owe their present elevation to the tragical end of their brother, the Wuzer Futteli Khan, who had never injured the man who caused his murder, but devoted himself to the consolidation of his power. It is said of that remarkable man, and by good authority, that on being warned against the designs of Kamran, he replied that he had done nothing to make him dread him, and if he were injured the evils would fall on those who had thus requited his services, which has given a kind of sanction to the power that his family have ever after maintained, celebrated as they also are for never taking the lives of each other. From the Ghilzees or the race which ruled Cabool before the last kings, the Barukzyes have little to fear. They are a very great tribe in Afghanistan, being rated at 20,000 families, and extending from Candahar to Gundamuck, half way to Peshawur, but the tribes to the east and west of Cabool have little or no intercourse with one another. Their ill-concerted plan of restoring themselves in Shah Mahmood's reign, shows how little probability there is of their being able to again figure in Afghan history. They might be used as a faction, but have been unable to make any head since they were ejected from power by Nadir, whose alleged cause of grievance in attacking Hindoostan was the protection given by the Moghul to his enemies the Ghilzees. The Ameer of Cabool has allied himself by marriage to both branches of this tribe, as has his son, Mahomed Akbar Khan, who, as I have said, is chief of the eastern Ghilzees, and in which he succeeded the Nuwab Jubbar Khan. Those to the west have more to do with the affairs of Candahar than Cabool, and this is the tribe which sometimes plunders the caravans between these two cities. They bear in lively remembrance that they were once rulers of the land, and are a body of men distinguished for their fine appearance and physical strength.

Effect of the government on the factions of the State.

12. Having thus embodied most of what seems necessary to convey accurate ideas of the power of Cabool, we pass from particular to general observations. No policy would perhaps be wiser than to maintain Sikh influence between India and Cabool, and to place the Punjab in the balance against the country. But difficulties present themselves at every step; the supreme power of either nation depends upon the individual who wields it; the Afghan, though stripped of some Indian provinces, admits no sovereignty of the Sikh, and watches with vigilance for an opportunity to inflict injury and assert his rights. The wealth of the ruler of Lahore, and the discipline and number of his troops, enable him to keep under these aspirings to recover lost power, but

Prospects of this government, and conclusion.

his single mind effects it. Where superior force is unable to subdue and can only keep in check, it would be imprudent to reckon on tranquillity when the disappearance of one man shall have ceased to bridle zeal, stimulated as it is by religion and the hope of political greatness. The successor of Runjeet Singh may certainly possess the elements of character, which so distinguish himself, but the state of parties in his country forbids the hope, and the time may not be distant when his now consolidated territories eastward of the Indus may be overrun, and perhaps dismembered into small states like Cabool. Though the Afghans are without a king, they yet repel the attacks of the Sikh, and countenance the opinion that they may be heirs to a share of his power, and exercise no small influence over these lands, and probably, the adjacent empire of India. Neither the Tartar nor the Afghan any longer rifles that country; the supremacy of the British hems them within their own limits, and the power which it has raised in India brings the nations on and beyond the Indus as suitors for alliance, instead of the invaders of its soil. The lawless inroads of former days are thus effectually prevented, even without an active interposition of British power, and an opportunity is now happily presented of moulding these frontier states by friendly sympathy and conciliation, into a shape which must contribute to the glory of Britain and the duration of its empire in the East.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
Cabool, 26 November 1837. On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter of the 19th ultimo, regarding the affairs of Candahar, I have now the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, a series of letters from the chief of that province, and his principal adviser to the Ameer of Cabool, which exhibit at the same time the feelings of the chief towards his brother, and the great alarm under which he labours from a fear of Persia.

2. With reference to the information of the advance of the Shah on Ghorian and Herat, I cannot attach credit to the movement till some more accurate reports reach Cabool, but I do not on that account consider myself authorised to withhold the accompanying letters from Government since the Governor (wallee) of Khorasan may have received the Shah's orders to march eastward.

3. In this correspondence it will be observed that the Chief of Candahar holds himself obedient to the wishes of the Chief of Cabool, and has for a time, as he admits, postponed the departure of his son for Persia, though the alarm for his very existence has dictated also to him the advisability of promptly tendering his submission, through his son, should the reports of the advance of the Persians prove authentic. To my own letters I have as yet received no reply, though I learn from private intelligence that Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan has detained my messengers with himself, and is involved in great perplexity what course to follow. He wishes to be guided by the British Government, and also to do as the Ameer of Cabool wishes, but he is under an apprehension of immediate danger from Persia, which I trust will soon be dissipated.

4. It now appears to me nearly certain that the son of the Candahar Chief will not proceed to Persia. These reports regarding Herat, if true, must discredit all that the elchee of Persia did at Candahar, and if false, put it out of the chief's power to say he was not warned against such a step and cause to him serious reflection which will make him hesitate to disoblige the British Government and the Ameer. It will not, however, fail to be noticed by his Lordship in Council the very detrimental effect which a report of the designs of Persia has
in

in this quarter, and how much distance exaggerates the power and wealth of that monarchy, which is feeble if unaided by others.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 4 December 1837.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Private Letter from the Chief of Candahar to the address of the Ameer of Cabool.

A. C.

I HAVE fully understood the letter which you sent to me through your servant Mahomed Azim. You had written, if I do not abandon the design of sending Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia, I must consider that I have abandoned you. Sir, by sending Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia, we do neither mean to injure you nor to destroy the arrangements which you are making with Runjeet Singh and Captain Burnes. My object in making friendship with Persia is on account of the Prince Kamran, who threatens every year to attack Candahar.

The treaty which I have made with Kumbar Ali Khan, the Persian Elchee, and the copy of which has been sent to you by Moolla Rashid, will not cause any evils to Runjeet Singh or the British.

I have not done anything contrary to your interests, but by sending Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia I mean to root out the power of Kamran. In case Kumbar Ali Khan returns disappointed from this country, the Persians will make friendship with Kamran and Yar Mahomed Khan, and with their junction will raise such disorders in our household that nobody will be able to set things right. Kamran is the enemy of our family, and Runjeet Singh is only the enemy of all the Mussulmans.

I have taken the liberty to write to you thus, for which I hope you will excuse me. You blame me now for making friendship with Persia, but when I commenced my correspondence with that power, with your knowledge, you never prevented me, or I would have abandoned communications with the Kujurs.

My desire is to get rid of Kamran, and especially at this time. Mahomed Shah, with one lac of infantry and cavalry, is arrived at Jam, and has sent Husu Khan Sindar in advance to Kohsan. Many horsemen have come from Herat, and it is believed that that city is besieged from seven or eight days ago. If I do not now send Mahomed Omar Khan to His Majesty, the Shah will be displeased and endeavour to ruin us.

May God put all things right. You are engaged in that direction, and I in this. Whatever is the will of God will come to pass, and time will show the result. I will let you know everything that happens hereafter without any delay.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moolla Rashid, the Minister of Kohin Dil Khan of Candahar, to the address of the Ameer of Cabool.

A. C.

THE arrival of your letter conferred upon me great honour. With regard to the friendship you are making with the English Government through Captain Burnes, the Sirdars have no objection at all; they will agree to whatever you do with that power. The object of the Sirdars in sending Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia is merely to get rid of an enemy near home, the Prince Kamran of Herat; do not think of anything contrary to this. If they ever wished to do anything against your wishes I would never permit them, because I am your wellwisher and their councillor. May God give you a long life and a good heart to look after the affairs of the house.

It is well known in the world that you are the chief of the family, and all the brothers look upon you as their superior.

Whatever arrangements you are going to make with the English Government, no one will gainsay them. We send Mahomed Omar Khan to Persia with the intention of injuring Kamran.

If your letter had reached us before Mahomed Omar Khan left this place, we would prevent his departure; it arrived when he had encamped with the Persian Elchee at Girishk. In case we now recall him to Candahar, it will annoy the Shah very much, and perhaps create some misunderstanding between the English and Persian Governments.

When Captain Burnes arranges the affairs of Peshawar, and the Sikhs leave it according to your agreements, we will do everything wanted in this direction.

1—Sess. 2.

K

We

We have heard no news since Moolla Jubbar's departure, and if we learn anything new it shall be particularly reported to you.

The bearer of this, Mohomed Azeem, will tell you everything of this quarter, both what he has seen and heard.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Private Note from Moolla Rashid to the address of the Ameer.

As Mahomed Omar Khan was at Girishk when the news of the siege of Herat by the Persians reached us, we have delayed his departure 15 or 20 days more, or until we learn the result of the siege.

I sent to you by Moolla Jubbar the copy of the treaty made with Kumbur Ali Khan, which I hope has met your approbation. Whatever happens in the course of the next 15 or 20 days hence I will report without delay. Rely on my services, and think me your faithful servant.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 4.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Kchin Dil Khan to Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan of Cabool, received 30th November 1837.

A. C.

I HAVE received other true information of Mahomed Shah Kujur, which I hasten to communicate. His Majesty at the head of an army of 100,000, 100 guns and 10 mortars, has besieged Ghurian,* destroyed the bulwarks of the fort, and will immediately make himself master of that stronghold. Many of the Shah's troops have been killed and wounded. It happened on the 7th of Shabban, or 24 days ago, and the bearer of this information left Herat three days after the battle was fought. This is the true intelligence; my people will I hope soon give me a further account of this affair, which I will send to you without delay.

Kamran and Yar Mahomed are engaged as they ought in repairing the walls, collecting provisions for the siege, &c. &c.

Let me know of the affairs in your quarter, and freely command my services.

No. 5.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moolla Rashid to the address of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, received at Cabool 1st December 1837.

A. C.

ON the affairs of this quarter I have written to you 10 days ago by Mahomed Azeem Khan "Peshklidurat," which I hope has met your approval.

On the 21st of Shaban, or 11 days ago, Seyud Ameer Oollah and other traders arrived from Herat, and stated that on the 7th of Shaban Mahomed Shah Kujar reached Ghorian, and two days after, at 3 p.m., he made an assault on the fort; 150 Persians were killed, and about five or six soldiers of the Ghurian fell in the field. The Persians were defeated and returned to their camp.

There are 1,500 soldiers and 500 horsemen in the fort of Ghurian, and the Persian army consists of 30,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, besides 40 guns and 10 mortars. The Ghurians are headed by Sher Mahomed Khan, the brother of Yar Mahomed Khan, and Mahomed Halcem Khan, the son of Meer Alum Khan Halorzye.

Until Mahomed Shah captures Ghorian he will not move towards Herat.

Sher Mahomed Khan Huzara has collected about 10,000 men from the countries of Miraji Firoz Kohee, Jumsbaidu Tuka, and Yamoot, and will shortly reach Herat; 1,000 of his horsemen have already arrived there.

The city of Herat is defended by Yar Mahomed Khan, who is at the head of 4,000 horse and foot. The walls of the city are thoroughly repaired, and provisions are stored in every mosque and caravanserai, sufficient for two years. Wheat is sold at 25 maunds per rupee, and butter at one maund, and the other necessities of life at the same cheap rate.

The Khan of Khiva has sent an Elchee to assure Kamran of assistance from him, and he has also promised to attack Persian Khorasan.

Mahomed Omar Khan and Kumbur Ali Khan are still at Girashk. Sirdar Mahomed Sadak Khan (the eldest son of Kchin Dil Khan) has been ordered to proceed with his force

by

* Ghurian is ten farsuks from Herat.

by slow marches to Bukwa; on learning the fate of the siege he will receive further instructions.

The treaty which was made with Kumbur Ali Khan becomes quite null by this affair.

One of Kamran's sons is at Farah and the other at Isfayar.

The arrangements which you have made with Captain Burnes will, I hope, prove satisfactory to you, your dependants, and all Mussulmans. Let me know kindly all about your quarter.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 6.

EXTRACT of a Merchant's Letter at Candahar.

My brother Ashgar has arrived from Herat, and reports that on the 10th of Shaban Mahomed Shah reached Huft Chunnar and Hasan Khan Sirdar Hasan.

As I am writing this letter a man has arrived from Seistan, and reports that the Persians have captured Ghorian, and that 300 soldiers have been killed.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

In a communication addressed to you on the 14th of October last I had the honour to state, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the result of my inquiries regarding the power of the Kazilbash or Persian faction in Afghanistan. I have now the honour to report an overture which was made to me by this party, and which appears calculated to throw further light on their influence.

2. Since our reaching Cabool the Persian party, as I have noticed in several of my Despatches, have been naturally chagrined, and I have had little opportunity of communicating with Khan Sheereen Khan, their chief, who invited me to his house when last in Cabool. One individual, however, Naib Mahomed Shurreef, a Kazilbash merchant of some property and respectability, with whom I travelled from Peshawur to Cabool in 1832, sought an early renewal of our acquaintance, and invited me to his country house, where I passed a day with him.

3. When this gentleman visited me a few days ago, he took the opportunity of making it a political as well as a friendly interview. He stated to me that Khan Sheereen Khan had been displeased with him for not inviting him to the party at his house, and that, as he had lost the opportunity of conversing with me, and did not like to come to the Bala Hissar, he had charged him (Mahomed Shurreef) to assure me how anxious the Kazilbashes of Cabool were to serve the British Government, and that they should not be left out in any arrangement which it might contemplate in this country; that the Kazilbashes had always exercised great power in Cabool; that they were an independent body, and only wanted a head to be as great as ever; that the Afghans hated them for their creed, but that they had been yet able to keep their own; that they were indebted to Shah Mahomed and his vizier Futteh Khan for some of the protection they enjoyed, which had inclined them to the present Ameer, whose mother was of their tribe; that this circumstance had made him ruler of Cabool, and the greatest man in Afghanistan, while his brother, Sooltan Mahomed Khan, from adhering to the Afghans, to the sons of Meer Wazeer, &c., was now a servant of

Sic. orig. the Sikhs; that their services had been ill requited since their pay was reduced, and Dost Mahomed Khan sowed dissensions among them by his Kazilbash influence, which prevented their doing anything; that their position in Cabool was dangerous, and that if a piece of ground at a distance could be got for them they would build a fort on it, bridle the Ameer and all future rulers, and prove of eminent service to British interests in this quarter, as, besides their own power, they could command the Huzaras, who were Shiahis; also the Ghiljees, who were more friendly to them than the Dooranees, and that the 5,000 horse they could now turn out, might be increased to 4,000 with such aid, if they were cherished and protected.

4. In reply to this long message and observations, I informed Nail Mahomed Shurreef that I was well aware of the influence which the Kazilbashes had possessed in this country from the days of Nadir, and that he must so assure Khan Shurreef Khan, but of course I did not enter into the details which he had sketched, but requested he would thank the chief for his friendly overtures.

5. The declaration of the Kazilbashes, as above given, seems to me to possess peculiar interest and value at this time, since we have in it the light in which they view themselves. Much of what is said is clearly correct, but the policy of allowing such a body of men to build a fort outside Cabool is obviously what no ruler, who was an Afghan, would submit to, and what no foreign power, Persia excepted, would countenance, if it wished to turn the resources of this country to its own ends. With Persia, however, the course would be altogether different, for such probably would be the very first result of a successful invasion by that power, since it would be productive of manifest and permanent advantage to her. At one time Timour Shah could not, without a special licence of the Moollahs, marry a Kazilbash lady, from their being held in the light of slaves of the King (Ghoolam i Shah), but no such objection would now be raised, since their relative position towards the ruler is altered. While the King of Persia, therefore, has his thoughts so earnestly directed to the countries eastward, the more the influence of the Kazilbash faction, as it now exists, is proved, the more dangerous, does it appear to the wellbeing of this country and the tranquillity of the states bordering on the Indus.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

Cabool, 5 December 1837.

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

Nos. 1 and 2. I HAVE the honour to annex, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the translations of two letters which I have received from the Chief of Koondooz and his minister, in reply to my notification of the intention to send Mr. Lord to Toorkistan. Their contents will, I believe, prove very satisfactory to Government.

2. I have received accounts of the arrival of Messrs. Lord and Wood at the last pass over the mountains, after experiencing great difficulties on account of a snow storm that happened in the Saraulung Pass, but from which they happily escaped. An elchee from the Ameer of Cabool, who persisted in advancing, was frozen to death, and his body has been since brought in here.

3. The latest intelligence from Toorkistan reports that the King of Bokhara has taken great offence at the Chief of Koondooz having planted a detachment and a small fort on one of the canals of Balkh, from which he has resolved to dislodge him by force of arms. The koosh beggie, or vizier, urged his Majesty not to take such a step, which gave offence, and for which he has been removed from being

being vizier, and appointed Governor of Kurshee, but without being deprived of his property.

4. The Lohanee merchants, who yesterday reached Cabool from Toorkistan, brought to me a message from the koosh beggie, explanatory of what had passed, expressing great anxiety to hear from me (my letter had not arrived), and assuring me that his removal would be productive of no ultimate harm. It seems that one of the instigators of this worthy man's supercession is Abdool Summut, the Persian lately driven from Cabool, who, with others, has been counselling the King of Bokhara to increase his taxes, raise regiments, compel the Hindoos to bury their dead or exile themselves. If persevered in, the policy would be fatal to the prosperity of Bokhara, and lead to the ultimate ruin of that interesting country. I am glad, however, to report that all the merchants consider the minister's removal as temporary, and the treatment of the Hindoos has drawn a remonstrance from Dost Mahomed Khan, as being at variance with the customs of Islam.

5. With reference to the determination of the King to dislodge the Meer of Koondooz from his position near Balkh, three or four thousand horse have already crossed the Oxus, and reached that city. No designs ulterior to preserving the integrity of his frontier are attributed to the King of Bokhara, and it is probable that he and the Chief of Koondooz will come to an understanding on the subject. I am happy to say that I took the precaution, in sending Mr. Lord to Koondooz, to inform the King of Bokhara, through his minister, of the objects of his journey, and his Lordship in Council may rely on the discretion and sound judgment of that gentleman, that the British Government is in no way mixed up with any of these differences.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool,
6 December 1837.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from *Meer Morad Beg*, the Chief of Koondooz, to the address of Captain *Burnes*, received at Cabool, 6th December 1837.

A. C.

YOUR kind letter, containing the words of friendship, and the intimation that you are going to send the doctor (hakim) here, reached me in good time, and I fully understood all its contents. Though every hope in this world depends on God, yet I had hoped that you would kindly send the hakim, and your having done so affords me great pleasure.

If it pleases God, and the endeavours of the doctor are successful in curing the eyes of my dear brother, Meer Mahomed, you will have purchased the goodwill of all the people of Tooran (Toorkistan) without money, and our friendship will be strengthened with you and all Europeans. You will also have a good name in the world.

Let me know of your health, and the news of that quarter.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from *Atmaram Dewan Beggie*, Minister at Koondooz, to the address of Captain *Burnes*, received at Cabool, 6th December 1837.

A. C.

YOUR friendly letter, containing accounts of your good health, and explaining other matters, reached me, and I understood its contents.

I gave your letter to the respectable Amett, who was very glad to read it. He declares that if the eyes of his brother are cured, through the favour of God and the endeavours of the doctor, the whole country of Tooran will become yours, without spending any money, and that the friendship will be strong and durable.

I will not fail to do you good service, and in some respect, according to the necessity of the time, I once served you long ago, which I hope you will keep kindly in your memory.

Let me know of your welfare, and the news of that quarter, and point out the services I can render you.

I kept your kasid in the hope of seeing the doctor, and to write to you of his safe entry. I hear that he is now coming by another road, so I hasten to dispatch the bearer to you. Do not be angry at his delay.

(True translations.)

Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HASTEN to report to you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that the rumours which have been so long current regarding the advance of the Persians on Herat, and which were reported in detail in my letter of the 4th instant, are confirmed. Besides the letters from the chiefs at Candahar, I have had communications, both written and verbal, from some of the first merchants of that city.

No. 1.

2. In further and complete corroboration of these rumours, I have just received a letter from Lieutenant E. Pottinger, dated Herat, the 4th November, of which, at his own request, I think it best to hand a copy to Government. That officer, who proceeded, with the permission of Government, to examine the passes west of the Indus, came to Cabool, thence to Herat, about three months ago, where it will be seen, from his letter, he is detained against his will by the authorities. He has applied for my advice and assistance in his disagreeable situation, both of which I shall not fail to forward to him.

3. In addition to the authenticated particulars above given, the last arrivals from Herat report, that the Shah in person had sat down before Ghorian; that his army had advanced to Herat, and closely invested it, and that it was under the guidance of three Russian officers; but these latter facts rest on rumour alone.

No. 2.

4. The arrival of this intelligence at Candahar has increased the consternation of the chief. At first he had considered the movement of Persia as favourable to his own view; but as the army has advanced on Herat without his being consulted; he forebodes evil to himself. He has, however, sent back my messengers with a letter, in reply to mine, notifying, as will be seen, his adherence to his connexion with Persia, which, under existing circumstances, is most natural; but at the same time referring me to the Ameer. Since it was written his perplexities have increased, and he has expressed great anxiety to have advice from Cabool. I have not yet had an interview on this subject with Dost Mohamed Khan.

5. The latest Despatch from Persia relating to the affairs of Herat which has reached me is dated so far back as the 30th June last. It is from the Ambassador to Lord Palmerston, and the tenor of that communication, as far as the Persian Government is concerned, being far from satisfactory, I refrain from writing to Herat, giving advice, or taking any step for some days, in the hope of an arrival from India, and more particular accounts from the west. If Mr. MacNeil has counselled the Herat authorities to resist Persia, it will give them great encouragement, and if the place is not treacherously surrendered, there are provisions and stores for a protracted siege.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool,
8 December 1837.

No. 1.

COPY of a Letter from Lieutenant *E. Pottinger* to Captain *Burnes*, dated Herat,
1 November 1837.

My dear Burnes,

I ARRIVED here about two months ago, while the Shah was employed in besieging Lash. On his return I thought it advisable to make myself known to the Vuzeer. He has detained me until now, on the pretence of sending an envoy to India along with me, as we were to go by the route of Chakunsoor in Seistan. I gladly consented to his proposal. He now, in consequence of the near approach of the Persian army (a detachment of it has reached Ghorian, 80 miles from this), has put off sending the vakeel, and has requested me to stay for the purpose of being a peacemaker. I have told him, and he perfectly understands I have no connexion with or authority from Government, and I cannot divine what his intentions are, unless that he wishes to make a show of having an English agent in Herat. He has treated me very civilly, except in detaining me. I saw him last night, and pointed out the uselessness of my remaining without authority from Government to interfere, and begged he would let me write to you, and send my letter by the huzarizat, so that I might get an answer quickly; lest, however, he should deceive me, I write by this kafila, and a Pisheengce synd has promised to despatch this letter the day he reaches Kandahar. Pray, on its receipt, write to me at least your advice what to do; and also send me a boondee for a hundred ducats, *i. e.*, bojaglers. I have expended all my money, and cannot get the Hindoos to cash the boondees I have on Kandahar, as they are made out in the name of Alidad Khan, the native officer who accompanied me, and who I sent by the route of Kandahar to bring my spare compasses. I am very anxious to know what has become of him, not having the slightest information by which I can divine his whereabouts or that of his companion, Edul Khan, who I left at Kabool in the hopes of getting a sextant from you. I have lost my compass, and beg you will, if possible, send me a compass, or a spare card and magnet, or at least write how to magnetise iron. I have been hammering away at bits of iron without success for the last week. (I can also get a loadstone here.) I have given the synd two ducats to hire the kasid, and beg you will give him a reward if he arrives in time, and despatch an answer quickly. Take care that the kasid which you send is an Afghan, for if this place be besieged the road will be very difficult from this to Subzar. Pray in the boondee have it specified that the ducats are to be of full weight when weighed separately, otherwise they will only give light ones. I hope you are well, and that you are getting on successfully. If the Persians are not able to take this by escalade, it will be a tedious business. The Vuzeer tells me Mr. MacNeil will positively accompany the Shah; if he does so I will be relieved from my disagreeable situation. You must take this for a half-official letter; and pray act as you think best in laying my situation before Government, which I myself should wish done.

Yours, &c.

(signed) *Eldred Pottinger.*

(True copy.)

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from *Kohan Dil Khan*, Chief of Candahar, to the address of Captain *Burnes*, received at Cabool 5th December 1837.

A. C.

Your very friendly letter reached me, and I fully understood its contents.

You had written to me that it was improper to hold two melons in one hand and to keep one foot in two boats; or, in other words, you blame me for the engagements which I have made with the Persian Government, as well as for sending my son, Sardar Mohamed Omar Khan, to that quarter. I wish you yourself to consider, how is it possible that the bonds of friendship which I have contracted with the Persians should be broken merely by your writing to me.

In your former letter you wrote to me nothing regarding this subject, and I have had no intercourse with you about it; it is not in accordance with the laws of friendship that the treaty which I have lately made with the Persians should be now destroyed. I have minutely informed the respectable Amcer about this, and will learn from him everything.

Be confident of everything here, and let me hear always from you.

(True translation.)

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India with
the Governor General.

(No. 59.)

From *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.*, Secretary to the Governor General of India,
to Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 31st of October, reporting your further proceedings at Cabool.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General approves of the efforts which you caused to be made with a view to arrest the progress of Persian intrigue, and the tenor of your letter to Kohun Dil Khan seems to be highly judicious; but the Candahar chiefs evidently entertain a considerable degree of jealousy of their brother the Ameer; and it appears doubtful, therefore, whether the dissuasive arguments against a Persian alliance which have been urged by Dost Mohamud may not weaken, rather than strengthen, the effects of your representation.

3. You will by this time probably have ascertained in what spirit those representations may have been received by the chiefs of Candahar, and you will shape your course accordingly; and if you should deem that step advisable, either proceed yourself to Candahar, or depute Lieutenant Leech to that quarter, should your own presence at Cabool be indispensable.

4. The Governor General trusts that you continue to communicate freely and unreservedly with Mr. MacNeil on all matters connected with the political condition of Central Asia. You have already been made acquainted with the judicious efforts which his Excellency has made to secure the independence of Herat, an object which the Governor General has always considered as of first-rate importance.

I have, &c.

Camp at Kusseeah,
11 December 1837.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Governor General of India.

(True copy.)

H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.*, Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the very extraordinary piece of intelligence of the arrival at this city yesterday of an agent direct from [the Emperor of] Russia.

2. On the 11th instant I received a notification of his approach from my correspondent at Candahar in the terms reported in the annexed letter, No. 1, and on the 13th instant the Ameer received the information conveyed in the enclosure No. 2. A circumstance of so unusual a nature prevented my sending off an express to you till I could be better informed.

[3. On the morning of the 19th, that is yesterday, the Ameer came over from the Bala Hissar early in the morning with a letter from his son, the Governor of Ghuzni, reporting that the Russian agent had arrived at that city on his way to Cabool. Dost Mahomad Khan said that he had come for my counsel on the occasion; that he wished to have nothing to do with any other power than the British; that he did not wish to receive any agent of any power whatever, so long as he had a hope of sympathy from us; and that he would order the Russian agent to be turned out, detained on the road, or act in the way I desired him.

4. I asked the Ameer if he knew on what business the agent had come, and if he were really an agent from Russia; he replied, that I had read all his letters from Candahar, and that he knew nothing more. I replied, that it was a sacred rule among civilised nations not to refuse to receive emissaries in time of peace,

peace, and that I could not take upon myself to advise him to refuse any one who declared himself duly accredited, but that the Ameer had it in his power to show his feelings on the occasion by making a full disclosure to the British Government of the errand on which the individual had come; to which he most readily assented.

5. After this the Ameer despatched a servant on the road to Ghuzni, to prevent the agent's entering Cabool without notice; but so rapid had been his journey, that he met him a few miles from the city, which he entered in the afternoon, attended by two of the Ameer's people. He has not yet seen the Ameer; he has sent a letter from Count Simonitch, which I have seen, and states that he is the bearer of letters from Mahomed Shah and the Emperor of Russia.

6. I shall take an early opportunity of reporting on the proceedings of this Russian agent, if he be so in reality; for if not an impostor, it is a most uncalled-for proceeding, after the disavowal of the Russian Government conveyed through Count Nesselrode, alluded to in Mr. M'Neil's letter of the 1st of June last.]

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 20 December 1837.

No. 1.

ABSTRACT of Intelligence received from Candahar on the 11th December 1837.

YESTERDAY I went to see the Sirdar, agreeably to his desire, and met a horseman of Girishk, with a Persian escort. They brought information that another Persian elchee was coming, and delivered a letter to Moollah Nusoo. He told me that it was not a Persian embassy, but an elchee from the Russian Government, or from the Russian ambassador at Tehran. The letter was from Haja Mobeen, and he is not come himself. The Russian elchee is named Marawa; he may be Armenian, but not a Persian. The Sirdars sent two horsemen to receive him on the road, and bring him into the city with consideration.

When I am perfectly acquainted with the affairs of the Russian elchee, or three days after, I will write to you minutely.

Sirdar Ruhin Dil Khan has become friendly with his brother, and lives in one place.

(signed) *A. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moollah Rishid, the Counsellor of Kohin Dil Khan, of Candahar, to the Address of Ameer Mahomed Khan, Agent or Naib of Dost Mahomed Khan, of Cabool, received on the 13th of December 1837.

A. C.

WE have heard nothing new of the Persian siege to Herat since the 1st of Ramzan (14 days ago), except that which I wrote to you before.

The fresh intelligence I write to you, that at noon, on the 28th of Shaban (17 days ago), Tuesday, an elchee arrived here from [Moscow, on the part of the Emperor of] Russia. Leaving the rarities of that country in Tehran, he came to the camp of Mahomed Shah Kujur; and, after seeing his Majesty, he passed through Birjrd, Jawer, Lash and Seistan, on his way to Ahmed Shahce (Candahar). He is a man of Moscow, and stands high in the favour of the Emperor. The Russian ambassador at Tehran has sent a list of the presents, with his letter, to the Sirdars, which this elchee left in his charge on account of the disorders of the road between Tehran and Candahar. As he looks a confidential person, I think he will do everything for the Sirdars. We have heard nothing of the results of the arrangements which Mr. Burnes is making at Cabool.

As Mahomed Shah intends to take Herat, so he has left the English and Russian ambassadors at Tehran. Mirza Masood, the minister of his Majesty, is also with them. The assistants of both the ambassadors are in the camp of Mahomed Shah.

Mahomed Omar Khan and the Persian elchee are still at Girishk.

(A true translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moolla Reshid, the Counsellor of Kohin Dil Khan Sirdar, to the Address of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, received at Cabool on the 19th of December 1837.

A. C.,

AN ambassador on the part of [the] Russia [n Emperor] came [from Moscow] to Tehran, and has been appointed to wait on the Sirdars at Candahar, and thence to proceed to the presence of the Ameer. He paid his respects to Mahomed Shah at Nishapoor, and passing through Kayanat, Lash and Jawer, Seistan and Gnoor Sail, arrived at Ahmed Shahee (Candahar). He is the bearer of [confidential messages from the Emperor, and of the] letters from the Russian ambassador at Tehran.

The Russian ambassador recommends this man to be a most trusty individual, and to possess full authority to make any negotiation [on the part of the Emperor and himself]. Captain Burnes will undoubtedly comprehend the real motives of this elchee.

The conduct and appearance of this man (elchee) seems to infer that he possesses no less dignity and honour than Captain Burnes, and whatever arrangements he may make will be agreeable to [the Russian Emperor and] the Russian ambassador. You have now both the English and Russian ambassadors at your Court; please to settle matters with any of them who you think may do some good office hereafter.

By the conversation of this man (elchee), it appears that Mahomed Shah is neither assisted nor induced by the Russians, and is come of himself to try his fortunes. You should receive him with consideration, as he is a man of consequence. He has got four horsemen with himself, and will remain but a few days in Cabool. Sher Mahomed has been sent by the Sirdars to conduct him to you. The Russians and the Persians are separately anxious to promote their respective designs in this quarter.

P.S.—When this Russian elchee reaches Cabool, show him respect, and it will rouse the mind of Alex. Burnes. His appearance will also induce him (Mr. Burnes) to be sharp, and to put off delay in promoting [your] objects.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.,* Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit translations (Nos. 1 to 4) of four letters received at Cabool, which convey intelligence regarding the campaign of the Persians against the Herat State up to the 25th of last month. The report of the partial defeat of the Persians has gained ground, and it seems certain that the fort of Ghorian has not yet fallen. The King of Bokhara and the Chief of Koondooz have also made up their differences, and a body of the Bokhara auxiliaries, it is reported, has gone by way of Maimund to aid Herat. I trust sincerely that all this intelligence will be confirmed, and, if so, from the season of the year and the forces opposed to them, a signal discomfiture of the Persians may be anticipated.

2. The effect of the campaign, as far as the Candahar chiefs are concerned, is already developed. In the letter of Kohin Dil Khan's adviser (No. 3), it will be seen that the Sirdar has prevented his son's departure to wait on the King; but in a way so qualified, that if his Majesty were successful, the son might still be forthcoming. Fear is the spring of action at Candahar.

3. Since my last Despatch to you regarding the affairs of Herat on the 8th instant, I have sent a messenger to Lieutenant Pottinger at Herat with my opinions and advice. I have in the first place told him, if possible, to get out of his dilemma by declaring that he possesses no authority from Government; but if he cannot, I have advised him to do all in his power to urge Kamran to resist Persia, if there is any chance of his doing so successfully, and, if not, as a last alternative, to make terms so as not to surrender the fortress; since Government, as it appeared to me, would regret above all things if Herat, so valuable as a position,

position, fell into the hands of that nation. Under the circumstances of the case, this appeared to me the only appropriate counsel.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 21 December 1837.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter to Captain *Burnes* from Syud Mohomed Shah at Candahar, received at Cabool on 5th December 1837.

A. C.

THE news of this quarter is as follows,—Mohomed Shah, at the head of 40,000 troops, 60 guns, and 3 mortars, has arrived on the river of Ghorian, and was opposed by 500 horsemen of Sher Mohomed Khan, the brother of Yar Mohomed Khan Vazeer. The Afghans, after losing 10 men in the field and killing 30 Persians, returned to the fort of Ghorian and shut the gates. The Persians, having marched from the river, have besieged the fort, and fired at it for three successive days. Kamran has also sent 2,000 horsemen to support Sher Mohomed Ghuryan. On the fourth day the Persians made an assault on the fort, and came back to their camp after a loss of 300 men, besides many wounded.

Kamran is not sorry for the Shah's coming at all, but regrets and laments very much that Kohin Dil Khan has made friendship with him.

I have got this information from my nephews, who are just come from Herat. The caravan from Candahar to Herat returned back to the city after going a few stages, on account of the coming of the Persians.

Kamran has driven all the native Persians from the city, and peopled it with Afghans of the adjacent countries in their place. He has gathered a great store of provisions for a siege of three years, and has received messages from Sher Mohomed Khan Hazarah, that he has got 500 horse ready for his service.

There are three Russians with Mohomed Shah, who have the command in their hands. They advised the Shah to stop at Ghuryan, and send his minister with some troops to Herat.

No. 2.

ABSTRACT of Intelligence received from Candahar by Captain *Burnes*, on the 11th of December 1836.

THE letters from Herat say that Mohomed Shah has arrived at Ghuryan with 40,000 troops and 56 guns. His Majesty has not reached Herat yet; 2,000 Persian horsemen came in advance, and which induced the ruler of Ghuryan to send 1,000 cavalry and meet them on the road. Both parties fought, and at last the Persians retired, after leaving seven men in field, and giving eighteen prisoners or slaves. Ghuryan is now besieged by the Persians.

Yar Mohomed Khan has dug another ditch round Herat, and has conducted all the Afghans of the country inside of the city. He is actively engaged in opposing the enemy.

On the 26th of Shaban a horseman came by express from Herat to the Sardars, and reported that the son of Shah Kamran, who ruled Sabzawar, three marches on this side of Herat, has disappeared. I do not know whether he has run away to his father at Herat, or somewhere else. It happened on account of his minister, the "Kalantar" of Sabzawar, seeking to imprison the prince and send him to Mahomed Shah. When he learned that the prince ran away, he immediately sent a man to Mahomed Shah, with the message that his Majesty must either come himself to Sabzawar or send some troops, but he has not heard in reply. It is rumoured that this traitorous person has been intriguing with the Persians for a long time. His news has deeply vexed the Sardars, and they anticipate some fearful end by the coming of the Persian army to Sabzawar.

The Sardar says openly that in consequence of the slow arrangements of Mr. Burnes at Cabul, the whole country of Afghanistan will fall into the possession of the Kujar; that he has no money to give his troops and send them to meet the Persians at Herat, and very shortly the snow will fall, and the communication between Candahar and Cabool will be closed.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moolla Reshid, the Counsellor of Kohin Dil Khan Sardar, to the Address of Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan, received at Cabool on the 19th December 1837.

A. C.

ON Sunday the 11th of Ramzan (17 days ago), Mehar Dil Khan started for Girashik; and on the 6th, Sardar Kohin Dil and Rahim Dil Khan followed him. They intend to

send for Kamber Ali Khan, who is now with Mohomed Saddik Khan at Karejet Meer, and to tell to him that the treaty which he has lately made with them has all gone wrong, and that Mohomed Omar Khan will therefore not proceed with him to the Shah until they (Sirdars) are satisfied.

About 15 days ago Kamber Ali and Mohomed Saddik Khan both sent a man to the camp of Mohomed Shah, and expect his return here in a few days hence, with full information of that quarter. On his arrival Kamber Ali will either go himself on with the man of the Sirdars to the Shah, or will postpone his departure; but Mohomed Omar Khan will never proceed to his Majesty until the Sirdars obtain all their wishes.

On Tuesday afternoon Ali Mar Dan Khan, the son of Madad Khan Papalzai, came with Moostfa to Candahar; he left Herat 14 days ago. He reports that Mohomed Shah had besieged Ghoorian on the 7th of Shahban, and till the 29th he had not come to Herat. Yar Mohomed Khan is ready to oppose the Shah, and has strengthened the fort.

Sher Mohomed Khan Huzarah, the Jamshaidees, Feroz, Kohees, and the people of Maimund, along with those of the adjacent districts, have assembled forces and sent their sons to Herat, where they will come themselves by-and-by.

The Sardars are engaged in a hunting excursion at Girashk, and are waiting for letters from Mohomed Shah.

One of Kamran's sons is at Sabzwar or Jafzar, and the other at Farah. Shah Pasand Khan is at Lash.

No. 4.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the same to his Brother, Meer Mohomed Khan, received on the 19th December 1837.

A. C.

I HAVE written to you all the information of this quarter by Moolla Jabbar Azim Khan, Hajee Wallee and Boda Cossid of Sultan Mohomed Khan long ago, and now let you know the fresh intelligence.

On Tuesday the 6th of Ramzan, Ali Mardan Khan came from Herat to Candahar after 14 days. He states that Mohomed Shah came and besieged Ghoorian on the 7th of Shaban. His first engagement was fruitless. The Shah took 40 guns near the fort, and fired for 48 hours at it. The tops of the walls have been very little destroyed, and the Shah gained nothing by this assault, and has encamped at the distance of two cannon shots from the fort. None of the Persians have come to Herat up to the 27th of Shaban (24 days ago). The Shah will not move to Herat until he conquers Ghoorian.

The fort of Ghoorian is supported by 15 Jazalehs (men with wall pieces), and 300 horsemen. The walls of Herat are strengthened as far as possible, and the city is defended by 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, besides the native Dooraines. Shah Zadah Sikandar, the son of Kamran, on leaving Herat came to Sabzawar, and took the traitorous "Kalantan" of that place a prisoner to Farah, where he commands 1,000 Dooraines. The other prince, or the ruler of Ghor, has assembled sufficient troops, and is arrived at Farah on his way to Herat.

Yar Mohomed Khan is actively engaged in opposing the Persians, and relies on the protection of God and his prophet. Sher Mohomed Khan Huzarah, with all the Jamshaidee, Feroz, Kohees, Maimund, Pari, Dih and Sarakhs Sunnies, collected a good number of soldiers, and sent their relations to Herat, where they are expected in person by-and-by.

The Khan of Orgunge or Khiva has sent a reply to Kamran, saying that his Highness should rely on his assistance, and informs him that Mohomed Shah, notwithstanding the open battle field, was defeated by him in Gurgam, and that he will not fail now to plunder and destroy his countries about Meshid, &c. &c.

The informers also report that Sher Mohomed Khan Huzara and the other Toorkmans, sent 7,000 horsemen to attack (Chapan), Khaf, Jam and Bakhars, as well as to stop all communication between Meshid and his camp. On receiving the intelligence Mohomed Shah sent 15,000 soldiers with four guns after them, and the enemy met them accidentally. A battle took place, in which the Persians, after losing their guns and many soldiers, were totally defeated. There are numerous Persians taken slaves by the Huzarabs in this engagement.

Grain is sold at 20 mans per rupee at Herat, and in the Persian camp at 2 reals per man.

(True translations.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrans,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

WITH reference to my letter of the 20th instant, I have now the honour to inform you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, that the individual who has arrived here from St. Petersburg is a veritable agent of Russia, and brings a letter from [the Emperor of Russia, a fac-simile of which in the Russian language (and for which I am indebted to Lieutenant Leech) I now forward. The agent also brings letters from] the Shah of Persia and Count Simonich, [and in the former communication] he is designated as Captain Vickovich.

2. I have the honour to enclose the following copies of documents in explanation of the appearance of this person, with translations :

No. 1. A letter from Dost Mahomed Khan to the Emperor of Russia.

[No. 2. A letter in reply from the Emperor, in the Persian language, being a translation of the fac-simile above mentioned.]

No. 3. A "rukum" from the Shah of Persia to Dost Mahomed Khan.

No. 4. A letter from Count Simonitch to the same.

3. I have addressed a confidential letter to his Lordship the Governor General of India regarding these documents, and the Russian agent who has brought them.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 22 December 1837.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan, of Cabool, to the address of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, transmitted *via* Bokhara, by Mirza Hoosein Caboollee, about the beginning of 1836.

A. C.

THERE have been great differences and quarrels between myself and the royal house of the Sudozyees. The English Government is inclined to support Shooja ool Moolk. The whole of India is governed by them, and they are on friendly terms with Runjeet Singh, the Lord of the Punjab, which lies in their neighbourhood. The British Government exhibit no favourable opinions towards me.

I (literally the creature of God), with all my power, have been always fighting with the Sikhs. Your Imperial Government has made friendship with the Persians, and if your Majesty will graciously be pleased to arrange matters in the Afghan country, and assist this nation (which amounts to twenty lacs of families), you will place me under obligations.

I hope your Imperial Majesty will do me the favour by allowing me to be received, like the Persians, under the protection of the Government of Russia. Under your royal protection I can perform, along with my Afghans, various praiseworthy services.

It will be highly proper, whatever your Imperial Majesty may be pleased to do.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

[Translation of a Letter from the Emperor of Russia to the address of Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan of Cabool, received from the Russian Agent, M. Vickovitch, at Cabool, 20 December 1837.

A. C.

IN a happy moment the messenger of your Highness, Mirza Husain, reached my court with your friendly letter. I was very much delighted to receive him, and highly gratified by its perusal.

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The contents of the letter prove that you are my well-wisher, and have friendly opinion towards me. It flattered me very much, and I was convinced of your friendship to my everlasting Government. In consequence of this, and preserving the terms of friendship (which are now commenced between you and myself) in my heart, I will feel always happy to assist the people of Cabool who may come to trade into my kingdom.

On the arrival of your messenger I have ordered him to make preparation for his long journey back to you, and also appointed a man of dignity to accompany him on the part of my Government.

If it pleases God, and he reaches safe, he will present to you the rarities of my country, which I have sent through him.

By the grace of God, may your days be propitious !

Sent from St. Petersburg, the capital of Russia, on the 27th of April 1837, A.D., and in the 12th year of my reign.]

A true translation from the Russian language into the Persian.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of Mohomed Shah's "Rukum" to the Address of Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan, of Cabool, received on the 20th December 1837.

A. C.

AGREEABLY to my affection and kindly feelings towards you, I wish to bestow great favours on you, and anxiously wait to hear from you.

In these days the respectable Captain Vickovitch, having been appointed by my esteemed brother the Emperor of Russia to attend your court, paid his respects on his way, stating he had been honoured by his Imperial Majesty to deliver some messages to you. On this I felt it incumbent on me to remember you by the despatch of this "Rukum," to convince you that your well wishers are deeply engraven in my mind.

Considering the favours of my Majesty attached to you, let me hear occasionally from you, and by rendering good services you will obtain the protection of this royal house.

Dated Rajab, 1253 A. H.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 4.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Count Simonitch, the Russian Ambassador at Tehran, to the address of Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan of Cabool, received on the 20th December 1837.

A. C.

THE [respectable P. Vickovitch will wait upon you with this letter, [and deliver to you an epistle from his Imperial Majesty, in reply to the petition which you had addressed through your agent, Hajie Husan Alee.]

Your agent, Hajie Husan Alee, has been attacked by a severe illness, and therefore he stopped at Moscow, when the intelligence of his bad health was conveyed to the Emperor. A good physician was ordered to attend and cure him as soon as possible. On his recovering I will not fail to facilitate him in his long journey back to Cabool.

Knowing your anxiety to hear from this quarter, I have hastened to despatch the bearer to you. He was ordered to accompany your agent to Cabool; I hope on his arrival at your Court that you will treat him with consideration, and trust him with your secrets. I beg you will look upon him like myself, and take his words as if they were from me. In case of his detention at Cabool, you will allow him often to be in your presence; and let my master know through me about your wishes, that anxiety may be removed.

Though the great distance has been preventing the continuance of my correspondence with you, I am always very happy to respect and serve your friends, to show my friendly opinions towards you. The cause of our often hearing from each other merely depends upon our friendship and acquaintance.

I have

I have [received] some Russian rarities [from the Imperial store] to forward to you; as the bearer (P. Vickovitch) is lightly equipped, it was beyond his power to take them along with him, but I will take the first opportunity to convey them safely to you, and now have the pleasure to send you the under-mentioned list of them.

Dated 25 Jamadi ul sani, 1253 A. H.

First kind of samoor.		Parcha Huzir, painted	-	-	1 piece.
Ditto ditto.		Ditto, white, with gold flower	-	1	"
Gilt and silvered cloth	-	Alachah, with gold flower	-	1	"
Cloth, with ditto, flowered	-	Ditto, yellow, with silver ditto	-	1	"
Ditto, with gilt ditto	-	Ditto, red and green	-	1	"
Ditto, [red] with green gilt flowers, 1	"	Ditto, light blue	-	1	"
Zari Abi, with gilt flowers	-	Ditto, with red flower	-	1	"
Ditto, firniaz of gold	-	Ditto, green	-	1	"
Ditto, ditto of silver	-	Ditto, banafsh	-	1	"
Parcha Huzir, red and white	-	Ditto, red and light blue	-	1	"
Ditto - ditto	-				

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report further, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, on the affairs of Candahar. I have just received a message from Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan on his leaving Candahar for Grishk; to the effect that he had delayed sending his son to Persia in hopes of assistance from the English; that he had received none; that the Shah was at hand, and his own chiefship in imminent danger from his not having made friendship with Persia, or sent his son; and that he always was, and would continue to be, the friend of the British.

2. Seeing that this chief has at last discovered the nature of his position, and the great importance of detaching him from Persia, with whom he has at heart no kind of sympathy, I immediately despatched the accompanying letter (No. 1) to Candahar. After pointing out to the chief the dangers in which he is involved, I have gone so far as to inform him that if Herat falls, and the Shah of Persia seeks to march against Candahar, and he continues the friend of the British nation, that his brother, the Ameer, will come to his assistance; that I will accompany him, and that in that event the expenses of keeping off the Persians will be furnished to him.

3. I have every reason to believe that this promise will be a dead letter, since Herat will detain the Persians, if not for good, certainly for a considerable time; but it is positively declared that one of the principal reasons for his Majesty's attack on the Herat state was the assistance he expected to receive from Kohin Dil Khan, and which he has quoted to his chiefs and nobles as his motives for undertaking a campaign which is unpopular with them. It is of the first importance, therefore, to detach the Candahar Sirdars from Persia, since they might assist the Shah with troops, and, what is of far more importance to an army in a winter campaign, provisions.

4. In the critical position in which I was situated, I saw no course left but that which I have followed. My belief is that Herat may withstand the attack of the Persians, but if not, and the Shah marches to Candahar, our own position in the East becomes endangered, and the tranquillity of all the countries that border on the Indus. By your Despatch of the 11th of September last, I am instructed to proceed to Candahar or Herat if it seems to me that my presence would have the effect of counteracting Persian intrigues. In the absence of

force, and in the state of excitement now existing, there is no plan calculated to defeat the designs of Persia if she moves eastward but to array Cabool and Candahar against her, and it is this deliberate conviction that has led me to tender to the Candahar chief the offer of assistance, and of the presence of an agent of the British Government, which I trust most respectfully will meet the approval of his Lordship in Council.

23 December 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

P.S.—The Ameer has just received a Despatch from Candahar, which I have seen, announcing that his brother has dismissed the Russian elchee. Kumber Ali Khan refused to send his own, and awaits advice from Cabool.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.

No. 1.

COPY of a Letter addressed by Captain *Burnes* to Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan, of Candahar, dated Cabool, 22 December 1837.

A. C.

I HAD the pleasure to receive your very friendly letter some days ago in reply to the communication which I sent to you from Cabool. I have now received the message which you sent to me on starting for Girishek. My friend; I am very much concerned to hear that anything happens in your quarter which gives you pain. I came to this country by order of the British Government to act as your friend. You and your brothers (now in Paradise) often wrote to Bombay to state how much you were the friends of the British Government, and this has sat deeply in the remembrance of my masters. I told you in my two former letters that the Government had deputed me to the Afghan country as the well-wisher of all Afghans, and I now tell you again that I am detained in Cabool by business that relates to the well-being of your family, to the endeavour to establish a peace between Maharaja Runjeet Singh and the Afghans. Be satisfied that in this business I am your well-wisher and not your enemy. The most respectable Ameer has done me the honour to receive me and entertain me most kindly, and he too is your well-wisher; but be assured that my detention here will never be productive of harm to you. You are an old friend of my Government, and I have come here to do you and your brothers good. May all harm be distant from you.

My friend, you have sent to tell me that you have gone to Girishek, and that you may send your son to wait on Mohamed Shah, but that you are still the friend of the English. I do not understand this; the Afghan state (doulut) and the Persians have never been friendly, and as I told you before, I see no good to come from sending your son to Persia. I see, on the other hand, that it is to put water in fire, and God forbid I should advise a friend to do so. You express to me great fear that the Persians should come to Ahmed Shahee (Candahar) on account of your not making friendship with them. May God avert such an accident. The British Government do not wish the Persians to come into the Afghan country. If Herat falls into the hands of the Persians, which is improbable, as it is a strong place, danger will without doubt occur to Candahar. If they intend to come to Candahar, let me know if you are friendly, and you wish your respectable brother, the Ameer, will come to your assistance, and I will immediately come along with him, and the expenses of keeping off the Persians, the enemies of your house, will be furnished to you, so that your country may remain peopled (abad), and you may continue the well-wisher of the British nation.

What more shall I say? All this I would have written before, but you never told me till now that you wished the assistance of the British nation; on the contrary, you told me you wished the friendship of Persia. I was astonished, but now I understand you. Write to me quickly, and let me know the secrets of your heart and wishes, as I am your friend and the servant of a Government who wishes you well, and who wishes you to keep the power in honour and prosperity which Providence has given to you.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

(Confidential.)

To the Right Honourable Lord *Auckland*, G.C.B., Governor General of India,
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

IN the [public] Despatches which I forward by this opportunity to Mr. Macnaghten, your Lordship will find a report of the extraordinary circumstance of an agent having arrived at this capital direct from St. Petersburg with a letter [from the Emperor, also] from the Shah of Persia, and Count Simonitch, the Russian Ambassador at Tehran. [I have resolved, therefore, to avail myself of the permission given to me, and address your Lordship personally regarding this very singular event, that I may lay bare the history of this intrigue, the very dangerous consequences likely to ensue from it, and at the same time, as is my duty, most respectfully place your Lordship in possession of the sentiments which occur to me regarding it, and the policy which the British Government is now pursuing in these countries.

Your Lordship is aware from Mr. MacNeill's Despatches of the proceedings of the Russian Government in Persia, of the intercepted letter from Count Simonitch to the Chief of Candahar, so that it would be out of place to say anything regarding what has been already better said by others. The attention which Russia has directed to this country is what I can best relate, and what is naturally expected from me. On the 15th of last month I forwarded a copy of Count Simonitch's letter to the Chief of Cabool, but I did not anticipate that so early occasion would arise for my not only transmitting a second letter from that nobleman, but also a most friendly one from the Emperor himself to Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, forwarded by an officer in his service styled Captain Parotchk Vickovitch, who reached this city on the afternoon of the 19th instant.

The unhappy differences which have so long reigned in this country have, as your Lordship is aware, been greatly aggravated by the measures pursued by the ruler of Lahore. The chiefs of Afghanistan have for years past avowed their anxious desire to connect themselves with the British Government in India, as well from the exalted notions entertained of it as from the belief of its ability to assist them, but the British Government has stood aloof or sent cold and distant replies to their solicitations. The ex-King at Loodiana, after a lapse of years, partly equipped himself in 1833 in our territories, and, crossing the Indus, marched to Candahar, where he was defeated. The chiefs of Afghanistan universally believed that the British Government had encouraged the ex-King, and were satisfied that we should have hastened to acknowledge him had he been successful. An open avowal of our anxiety for his success could not have been productive of worse consequences than the course which was actually taken, yet it did not alienate the chiefs from us. They had driven Shooja ool Moolk from Candahar, but in their absence Runjeet Singh seized on Peshawur, and gave rise to new anxieties. Seeing that they had no hopes from us, the Afghan chiefs turned their attention to other quarters, and we have thus quickened the designs of the powers to the westward. But such was still the friendly disposition of these chiefs, that though they had written in every direction, they availed themselves of your Lordship's arrival in India to address a new Governor General, and I have no hesitation in saying that the result of that address has been productive of benefit to the State, and stayed for a while many evils.

When it formerly occurred to Dost Mahomed Khan that he must sue for aid elsewhere, he addressed severally the Emperor of Russia, the Kings of Persia and Bokhara, and to one and all his letters were of the same tenor; that he had a powerful enemy to cope with in Runjeet Singh, who threatened his very existence; that he had applied to the all-powerful Government of the British, who were rulers of India, but had applied in vain; that the British had, as he believed, befriended Shooja ool Moolk in attacking him, and were the well-wishers of Runjeet Singh to his prejudice; that he had abundance of men, but no money to pay them, and he therefore implored the Mahomedan rulers to aid him, as was their duty in a holy cause, and the Emperor of Russia he courted, as will be seen in his letter, because of his power as a monarch and his influence in Persia, to which the ruler of Cabool now professed his willingness to ally himself. The result of this application has been the transmission of expensive

presents by the Emperor, with a letter in reply, more than gracious, ostensibly written to encourage commerce, though there be not a word on that subject in the Ameer's communication, and this letter is sent by Captain P. Vickovitch, who is charged with messages direct from the Emperor, and who is, by Count Simonitch's letter, authorised to act and communicate as if he had been his Excellency himself. The whole of these important documents are, however, before your Lordship, and as they involve matters of the first moment, I have thought it right to transmit, besides translations, copies of the correspondence in Persian, as well as a facsimile of the Emperor's, which I have not the means of translating from the Russian language. This dazzling specimen of calligraphy, together with the very friendly expressions contained in it, coming from one who enumerates so many of his lofty titles as his Imperial Majesty, has excited a stirring sensation, nor do I conceal that I have looked on with mingled feelings of astonishment and regret.

The indication of friendship, which has been put forth by your Lordship's administration, has arrested for a time the despair which had taken possession of the Afghan nation. The language which Dost Mahomed Khan and every Mahomedan has held since a British mission entered this country is, that they would stand by us to the last, and seek no aid or connexion while there was a hope of friendship from a nation dear to them for the strict maintenance of its treaties, and celebrated, above all others, for its liberality, justice, and honour. With these words in his mouth, Dost Mahomed Khan came to inform me of the arrival of the Russian agent, of his determination to be guided by my advice, and even refuse to receive him, if it were disagreeable to me. I saw that I dare not seek to hinder an independent chief from receiving an agent, for as it is justly held to be a law in civilised countries never to attack a nation in one of its most sacred rights, I should have incurred a responsibility, and I am sure never been honoured by your Lordship's approbation. Though the messenger has been received and delivered his letters, I trust that the friendly devotion of Dost Mahomed Khan in asking my advice, and next handing to me all the letters brought by the emissary will remain in your Lordship's mind, as proofs of sincerity and conciliation, highly to be appreciated, and the more so as the British have as yet made no avowal of their support to his power, while he has received declarations from others, the sincerity of which can be no longer questioned.]

Before I enter upon the messages delivered by the agent to the Ameer, it is proper to state the information which has reached me regarding what has passed at Candahar. In my official communication of the 9th of September last, your Lordship will remember that I reported the departure of one Hajee Mobeen on a mission to Persia, and, as it was believed, in pursuance of the advice of the Russian Ambassador. This individual accompanied Mahomed Shah to Khorasan, and was requested by his Majesty to await the arrival of Captain Vickovitch, and proceed with him to Candahar. The connexion between Russia and Persia in this part of the transaction leaves little doubt of the whole being a concerted plan between these Powers. The statement made by the emissary to the Sirdars of Candahar was to the effect, that [the Emperor of] Russia had full influence in Persia, and that they should assist the Shah, and draw on him for money; and if their drafts were not paid, that the Russian Government would be responsible for their discharge, but that they should follow the wishes of Mahomed Shah if they sought the Emperor's good offices, and on no account ally themselves to the English nation. This declaration, if true, is certainly most explicit, but though it has been communicated to me by whose other reports entirely tally with all that is passing at Candahar, and who is the individual that made known to me five months ago the then inexplicable nature of Hajee Mobeen's mission, I should not wish your Lordship to give to it that confidence which I seek to place on the report of events that have transpired in Cabool.

On the evening of the 20th instant, the Ameer received the Russian messenger, [and immediately after sent to me his confidential Mirza, Samee Khan, to report what had passed. The Ameer expressed great thanks for the honour that the Emperor had conferred upon him in sending such a letter, and entered with the agent upon the state of affairs in Russia, which seems to have surprised Captain Vickovitch; he asked if the Emperor had recovered from his accident, and some other such questions.] On the agent's producing Mahomed Shah's "rukum,"

"rukum," the Ameer felt a degree of irritation, which he could hardly control, and said in Afghanee, "that it was an insult to him, and a proof of Mahomed Shah's being guided by [bad] advisers, for his master the Emperor, wrote to him a letter, and the subservient Shah of Persia arrogated to himself the right of sending him a 'rukum,' or order, with his seal on the face of the document." [He caused the Emperor's letter to be read with great care, but did not peruse the Shah's communication.] The agent was then dismissed, and invited to the Bala Hissar on the following day.

The communications which passed on this second occasion have been also made known to me, and are of a startling nature. Mr. Vickovitch informed Dost Mahomed Khan that the [Emperor]* had desired him to state his sincere sympathy with the difficulties under which he laboured, and that it would afford [His Majesty] great pleasure to assist him in repelling the attacks of Runjeet Sing on his dominions; that [His Majesty] was ready to furnish him with a sum of money for the purpose, and to continue the supply annually, expecting in return the Ameer's good offices; that it was in [the Emperor's] power to forward the pecuniary assistance as far as Bokhara, with which State [he] had friendly and commercial relations, but that the Ameer must arrange for its being forwarded on to Cabool. The agent stated that this was the principal object of his mission, but that there were other matters, which he would state by-and-by; that he hoped the Ameer would give him a speedy answer to despatch to St. Petersburg, and that with reference to himself, he would go, if dismissed, along with it, though he gave the Ameer to understand (and under which impression he still continues) that it is his wish to remain, at least for a time, in Cabool. The report of this interview has been communicated to me from two sources, [the Newab Jubber Khan and Mirza Saanee Khan,] and they both agree in the substance of what passed. [Neither of them make any allusion to what the agent is reported to have said at Candahar, regarding the request to shun alliances with the British, and this is probably what he has reserved for a future interview. I have however no apprehension of anything that passes being concealed from me, and what does transpire shall be reported. I need not say that the Ameer has as yet sent no reply to the Emperor's communication.]

* Previously printed, "Russian Government;" "it" being afterwards substituted for "he."

Having thus laid before your Lordship these strong demonstrations on the part of Russia, to interest herself in the affairs of this country, it will not, I feel satisfied, be [considered] presumptuous to state my most deliberate conviction, that much more vigorous proceedings than the Government might wish or contemplate are necessary to counteract Russian and Persian intrigue in this quarter than have been hitherto exhibited. [It is undoubtedly true that we have an old and faithful ally in Maharaja Runjeet Sing, but such an alliance will not keep these powers at a distance, or secure to us what is the end of all alliances, peace, and prosperity, in our country and our frontiers. I am yet ignorant of the light in which your Lordship or Maharajah Runjeet Sing have viewed the overtures of Dost Mahomed Khan regarding Peshawar. Captain Wade informs me that they have been transmitted for your Lordship's consideration, since he did not feel himself authorised to communicate them to the Maharajah. There was surely nothing in them contrary to the dignity of his Highness: an independent chief offers to pay him allegiance and regular tribute, and to send a son to sue for forgiveness. His Highness need not accept the terms, and perhaps Dost Mahomed Khan will in the end be satisfied with the plain of Peshawur being given to any Barukzye, but it becomes a matter of great moment, that this question should be speedily adjusted. If the Maharaja had not been sincere in his wishes, I presume he would not have sought the counsel of Government. His attack on Peshawur drove the Afghans to seek for alliances which are injurious to British interests, and it is surely not asking too much of Runjeet Sing to act with promptitude in the adjustment of a matter, which, while it hangs over, brings intrigues to our door, and if not checked may shortly bring enemies instead of messengers. In a settlement of the Peshawar affair, we have, as it seems to me, an immediate remedy against further intrigue, and a means of showing to the Afghans that the British Government does sympathise with them, and at one and the same time satisfying the chiefs, and gaining both our political and commercial ends.]

From various passages in the Government Despatches, it would appear that the position of the ruler of Cabool is considered hazardous by your Lordship in

Council. It is certainly true that a ruler who is obliged to stand on the defensive, has his safety always more or less endangered, but Dost Mahomed Khan has nothing to fear from the Sikhs, though he is not fully aware of his own strength, and judging by the past, concludes that Runjeet Sing will covet Cabool as he did Peshawar. A trial would, I believe, prove disastrous to the Maharajah, and lead Dost Mahomed Khan into measures which, with all his proffers of assistance, have never yet entered into his contemplation. It is therefore most desirable to take those steps which will prevent any further collision between the Sikhs and Afghans, and the most opportune expressions of Runjeet Sing's anxiety to alter the state of affairs in Peshawar, would give cover to a reiteration of the anxiety entertained by the British Government that they should be at once adjusted. If it were deemed prudent also, it would only be a further proof of frankness in all our dealings with the ruler of the Punjab, to show to him the documents now received from the Emperor of Russia, and thus to place before him in a light that must dissipate his doubts as to the disagreeable things to which his wars with the Afghans subject the British, who have for nearly 30 years stood as his dearest and best friends. Nor is it to Russia only that we can refer him. The Persian agency at Candahar is calculated to do us less, though similar moral harm, and to the letters of the sirdars of Candahar to the Shah, I believe we owe in a degree the present attack on the Herat State. I have explained the particulars of this matter in my public letter of the 22d instaut, and to pressure from the ruler of the Punjab we must also attribute measures that must be adopted, and which may involve an outlay of the public money, the only means (except by active interposition of our power) of keeping our footing and influence in these countries.]

By one class of politicians, everything regarding the designs of Russia in this quarter has been treated with disbelief. By another, the little which has transpired has excited immediate, and in consequence, what may be termed groundless alarm. For the last six or seven years, I have had my attention directed to these countries, and I profess myself to be one of those who do believe that Russia entertains the designs of extending her influence to the eastward, and between her dominions and India. With her commercial operations, she has invariably spread the report that her designs were ulterior, and the language of her agents has lately been, that, as the affairs of Turkey and Persia are adjusted, she sought an extension of her influence in Toorkistan and Cabool. Such reports would deserve little credence if unsupported by facts, but assisted by them, they gather high importance, and exhibit views [of a cabinet, Oriental and dark in its diplomacy, and] which, but for the greatest vigilance, might have eluded notice for years to come.

There being therefore facts before us in the transactions passing at Cabool, it seems impossible, with any regard to our safety, to look on longer in silence. If Russia does not entertain inimical feelings directly to the British in India, she avows that she wishes for the good offices of the chiefs on our frontier, and promises them her own in return, so that it is useless to conceal from ourselves that evils must flow from such connexions. It is indeed casting before us a challenge. It is a trite maxim, that prevention is better than cure, and we now have both in our hands; we might certainly wish to delay a while longer before acting, but it is now in our power, by the extended immediate exercise of our already established influence, to counteract every design injurious to us. [A line of agents should be established at Herat, Candahar, Sinde, Cabool, and perhaps Bokhara. Powers of an extensive nature need not be given, but the agents should be British officers, who would mingle with the chiefs and people, and disabuse their minds, which is only to be done by explaining the principles of our Indian Government, the advantages which accrue from it, and by placing these in juxtaposition with the worthless promises of Persia, and the ambitious designs of Russia. These, as it appears to me, are what the occasion calls for, and the immediate adjustment of the affairs of Peshawur would be the best earnest of the sympathy with which the British Government viewed the distresses of the Afghans. A very powerful engine to our success in fixing stable our influence in these countries, additional to the good feeling entertained of us, is, that they are all Soonee Mahometans, who cherish a rooted hatred to the Shiahs of Persia. In Sinde alone the court faction is of that persuasion, but everywhere else in Bokhara, Koondooz, Herat, Candahar, and Cabool, it would be

be easy to form a league, which under British guidance would arrest the designs of Russia and Persia, but to continue longer indifferent to what is passing, is to throw away the advantages we at present command.

Should the conduct of Dost Mahomed Khan in his frank divulgement of all that has passed meet with your Lordship's approbation, it seems a suitable preliminary step, if your Lordship resolves on making any change in our view, to set out by addressing a letter of thanks to this chief for the proofs which he has rendered of his friendship and fidelity.]

I trust that the free expression of my sentiments will not prove displeasing to your Lordship. I am emboldened by the confidence which has placed me here to speak according to my conviction, and

I remain, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 23 December 1837.

(True copy.)
H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India, Governor General's camp.

Sir,

IN my communication of the 22d instant, I had the honour to report the steps which I had taken to detach the Candahar sirdars from Persia. Their disposition to withdraw from a Persian alliance exhibiting itself day by day more strongly, I have come to the determination of deputing Lieutenant Leech, without delay, to Candahar.

2. The instructions which I have given to that gentleman form No. 1 of the accompanying documents, and explain so fully the objects contemplated by his journey that I need not recapitulate them, and trust that they will be approved of by Government. In the absence of any instructions consequent on the Persian attack on Herat, it behoved me to be decided in the steps which I took.

No. 1.

3. Since the arrangements have been completed for Mr. Leech's departure, I have had the satisfaction to receive your Despatch of the 13th of November, where the great importance of cultivating a closer connexion than at present subsists between our Government and the rulers of Candahar are pointed out, though my former letters rendered it till now inadvisable. I observe also his Lordship's views regarding the desirability of not allowing Kamran to attack Candahar, and the stipulations to that effect which should, if possible, be made in any mediation that Mr. McNeill might undertake for the reconciliation of Herat and Persia for the protection of Candahar, and I had despatched an extract of that part of your letter to Captain Stoddart, who is believed to be at Herat with the Shah, on the part of Mr. McNeill.

4. In addition to the proofs of the change in the mind of the Candahar Sirdars, I annex two letters, Nos. 2 and 3, from that city, which will also further explain the state of things at Candahar. One of the communications is from the hand of a son of Poordil Khan, the late Chief of Candahar, and considered most authentic.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. M. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 26 December 1837.

No. 1.

To Lieutenant *R. Leech*, Assistant on a Mission, Cabool.

Sir,

THE state of affairs at Kandahar rendering it highly desirable that an officer of the British Government should proceed there, it is conducive to the public interests that you repair to that city at your earliest convenience.

2. You are aware that the instructions under which I am acting on the duties assigned to me require that I should myself visit Candahar, but matters of importance have detained, and will continue to detain me in Cabool. I have also hitherto refrained from holding personal communication with the Chiefs of Candahar, because I was not satisfied, in the temper they have of late exhibited, that it would conduce to the public good. A very material change for the better has just occurred at Candahar, and it is with the intention of availing myself of it that I consider your presence most desirable.

3. You already know, from a perusal of the correspondence to and from Government (copies of which I annex), all that has passed regarding Candahar; you know that the Chief of that State had entered into a treaty, or the preliminaries of one, with Persia, had resolved to send his son to the Shah, and to aid his Majesty in his designs against Herat, and in addition to all, that an intercourse has been for some time past publicly carried on from Candahar with the Russian Ambassador at Tehran.

4. It was in vain that the Ameers of Cabool and myself pointed out to the authorities at Candahar that such a line of procedure involved their destruction. The arrival of the Shah of Persia before Herat has at last opened the eyes of Kohindil Khan to his danger. He has listened to advice, and informed me that he will not now send his son to Persia, that he has dismissed the Persian elchee, Kumber Ali Khan, and that he looks with earnest anxiety for the counsel and assistance of the British Government and his brother Dost Mahomed Khan. He states also that the Shah of Persia has sent back one of his emissaries, saying that he does not now require assistance from Candahar, but that after Herat has fallen he will order the Chiefs to wait on him at Furra, and command various services, among which will be an attack upon the Sikhs.

5. The importance of detaching Candahar from Persia is very great. It is one of the most commanding military positions in Asia, and stands at the head of the Bolan Pass, the best of all the routes that lead down upon the Indus from the west. It will therefore become your most special duty to expose to Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan and his brothers the worthlessness of all the promises which they have received from Persia, to point out to them that their only hope of keeping their own is by cultivating a good understanding with their Afghan countrymen and their brother at Cabool, in which case the British Government is ready at all times to befriend them and sympathise with them. You will particularly explain that it is our distinct and declared policy that we shall recognise and respect the independence of all the existing holders of power in this country, and that we have no design to subvert that of the Candahar Sirdars, or any one else, for the benefit of the Ameer of Cabool, or any of his brethren. Your conversation will be uniformly guided by this spirit.

6. On the 22d instant, when it first became known to me that the Chiefs of Candahar were disposed to desist from their intercourse with the west, you are aware that I addressed to them a letter under that date, in which I went so far as to state that I would come in person along with their brother to Candahar, and assist them, by every means in my power, even to the extent of paying their troops, if Persia threatened to subdue their chiefship. I have every reason to believe that such promise will require no active measures and be as a dead letter, but as an earnest, and a most substantial one, of our friendly feelings. You will not fail to make the most of it in your discourse, and I anticipate from it the result that the Candahar Chiefs will, in future, not permit themselves to be misled, or seek aught but the friendship of the British Government.

7. It is, however, possible that the reception of the Sirdars of Candahar, from their connexion with Persia, may raise up angry feelings in the mind of the Shah. His elchee, too, Kumber Ali Khan, whose long stay at Candahar must have exposed to him the weakness of the chiefship, may also excite his Majesty's cupidity to a conquest so easy as Candahar when deprived of assistance from Cabool, and it is therefore quite within the range of possibility if Herat be subdued, that the Persian army, or a detachment of it, should run down upon Candahar to add to the *éclat* of the young king's campaign in the next.

8. From your presence at Candahar, I see the means of counteracting both the intrigues and designs (if there be such) of Persia. It will be publicly avowed by you and in the letters which I give you, that you are an agent of the British Government. This will inspire Kohin Dil Khan with confidence, dissipate all his doubts on our proceedings at Cabool, should any remain, and make him more at ease regarding Persia. The very circumstance of your residing with the chief would give cover to the opinion that there was an understanding between him and the British Government, and consequently make the Shah of Persia hesitate before entering on any active measure against him. It will even, I think, prevent his directing the chief or any of his people to repair to Furra, as intimated. Should such a summons be sent to Candahar, you should get the chief to address a reply that he has sought the protection of the British Government, for I foresee future evils arising from even any show of allegiance to Persia on the part of Candahar.

9. Any connexion between Candahar and Persia is what it should be your zealous endeavour to check, but such a connexion as renders it incumbent on Candahar at the instigation

instigation of Persia to war with the Sikhs, is what the British Government will never permit. It recognises no right in the Shah of Persia to interfere in any way in its transactions between the Sikhs and Affghans, and such interference, if persisted in, will alter our friendly relations with Persia, and lead, in all probability, to very active counteracting measures. Everything therefore which you can do to keep Kohin Dil Khan in our interests should not be neglected.

10. If you have positive intelligence of the determination of the Shah of Persia to attack Candahar on account of the Chief's having connected himself with us, or on any other account, I request you will inform me with the utmost possible expedition, and I will repair in person to join you. You must remember always that from your presence twofold advantages arise; first, as your being the means of transmitting the earliest authentic information, and second, in checking, as far as in you lies, the evils anticipated from the proximity of a Persian force to Candahar.

11. It is probable that you will find an agent of Mhrab Khan, the Brahooee Chief of Kelat, at Candahar. As that ruler is in our interests, you should be attentive to him, and you should write to Kelat to tell Mhrab Khan of your presence at Candahar, and of your assurance that a good Mahomedan like him will never permit the Persians to overrun the country of the Affghans and the Brahooees. If you saw fit, you might also take an opportunity of writing an encouraging letter to Shere Mohomed Khan Huzara, the great supporter of Kamran, which with your being at Candahar, would strengthen his determination to resist Persia.

12. In the event of the Shah of Persia making up his differences with Kamran of Herât, advantages are also to be anticipated from your residence at Candahar. These Chiefs, as you are aware, are at enmity with each other; but as Kamran is friendly to the British, he would not seek to disturb the tranquillity of Candahar while you remained with the Chief. If the Candahar Chief relies on his brother of Cabool, my impression is that Kamran could not in any way injure him, and nothing is more likely to bring about a friendly coalition in the Barukzye family, which will be beneficial to themselves and to us, than your pointing out at Candahar, as I have done in Cabool, how anxiously our Government wishes to see their family differences terminated. I think it, however, advisable that you should not in any way mix yourself up with the affairs of Herât, since I believe there is a British agent on the part of Mr. McNeill, our Ambassador in Persia, with the Shah. It will, however, be a good line of argument with Kohin Dil Khan to point out to him that he can only be safe from Herat by continuing friendly with Dost Mahomed Khan.

13. In your personal intercourse with the Sindar of Candahar and his brothers, you should do everything in your power to please them. To Kohin Dil Khan himself, as the head of the house, you should show of course every respect; you should go to him without ceremony when sent for, dine with him when asked, ride out with him if he wishes it. You should also visit his brothers, Ruhm Dil and Mhr Dil, for it is not at Candahar as in Cabool. Here there is but one man in the country, the Ameer; but there you will have three different brothers, all of whom have a share in the management of affairs. Kohin Dil is described as an honest, good man, and a staunch Soomee; Ruhm Dil has some energy, and Mhr Dil has some talent.

14. You must expect to be very closely questioned regarding the intentions of the British Government in adjusting the differences between the Sikhs and Affghans. On this point you know all that has passed; that the matter is still in abeyance, that it is the most anxious desire of the British Government to see peace restored on its frontiers; and you will urge, as a telling argument, that the presence of a British mission has had the immediate effect of suspending hostilities, a happy indication of what may be ultimately settled. In communicating with the people, even the Chiefs and better orders of society, you will often have to encounter expressions very disparaging to the ruler of the Punjab, whom Mahomedan prejudice leads them to designate as an infidel, &c. You can only combat such people by giving no reply, and by never mentioning Maharajah Runjeet Sing but as the faithful ally and dearest friend (khassest) of the British Government. At first such terms may not be perfectly intelligible, but in the end they are understood, and will even be quoted as proofs of British sincerity and the fixity of purpose which marks all our public acts.

15. Nothing will contribute more to the efficient discharge of the duties on which you are now proceeding, than an active use of emissaries or messengers to gather information in every direction. You should never be without some one in the Shah's camp to bring intelligence of what are his movements. In using the public money for this individual item of expenditure, though it is incumbent upon you to be as economical as possible, yet a too parsimonious distribution of it to such useful men as bringers of intelligence need not be studied, and you will not hesitate therefore to incur those expenses which you deem necessary to advance the public interests.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alexr. Burnes.*

Cabool, 25 December 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Meer Afzal Khan, son of the late Poordil Khan, of Kandahar, to the Address of Ameer Dost Mohomed Khan, received at Cabool on the 23d of December 1837.

A. C.,

ON the 13th Ramzan, or 16 days ago, the servant of the Sirdar (Kohin Dil) who had gone with the men of Kumbur Ali to the camp of Mohomed Shah, returned to Giraskh. He brought intelligence that the fort of Ghorian was taken by the Persians, and Shere Mohomed Khan and Halim Khan made prisoners. All the property of the fort has fallen into the hands of the Persians.

Leaving Ghorian in the charge of his own people, Mahomed Shah has besieged Herat.

Mohomed Shah sent 12,000 cavalry, under Hasam Khan Sirdar, to Kilah Now, the capital of the Huzaras. Shere Mohomed Khan, their Chief, along with his people, crossed the river of Bala Moorghab and entered the hills. When Hasam Khan reached Kilah Now, Shere Mohomed Khan attacked and defeated him. The Sirdar took shelter in some ruined fort, and is surrounded by the Huzaras. He has sent a petition to the Shah, soliciting the aid of some more troops.

Sham Shooddeen Khan has gone over to the Shah, and it is said that he has got 2,000 Persian horses to go to the Huzara country, and to seize their property, which he knows.

Mohomed Shah directed the servants of the Sirdar to wait upon him until he took Herât, but the men of Kumbur Ali, who was with him, advised his Majesty to discharge the men of the Sirdar, and bring Kumber Ali Khan with the son of the Sirdar. On this the Shah dismissed him.

The Shah gave him a message to deliver to the Sirdars of Candahar, that they should not trouble themselves to come to Herât, but that they should come to Farah, where he would be happy to see them, and order certain services, and to fight with the Sikhs.

The Shah had promised to give this man 200 ducats and a dress of honour, in case he brings Mohomed Amar Khan to the Persian camp.

Mohomed Shah has 100 guns, and 1,000 mules loaded with ducats.

Kumber Ali has been dismissed, and the Sirdar has sent along with him Alah Dad Khan Bar Curranee. The letter is sent on the part of the Sirdars. Mohomed Omar Khan has not been sent to the Shah.

The brothers or Sirdars are at Girshk.

The man was ready to wait on you, and my Mirza was not present; so I wrote these few lines myself. Excuse me for this presumption.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Moolla Nasir, in the employ of Kohin Dil Khan, Chief of Kandahar, to my Moonshee; received at Cabool, on the 24th December 1837.

A. C.,

THE letter which you sent to me kindly through Tahir came in the happy moment.

You had written to me that I should use my influence to discontinue the departure of Mohomed Omar Khan to Persia. Agreeably to your solicitation, I prevented Mohomed Omar Khan to proceed, and annihilated the engagements of the treaty contracted between the Sirdars and the Shah. The Sirdars have only sent Ala Dad Khan in company with Kumber Ali Khan for civility.

You had sent "message, that on dismissing the Persian elchi without Mohomed Omar Khan, one of the Englishmen might come to the Sirdars, and show a way that will prove beneficial to them. I send you this letter by express, and do not let there be any delay in the coming of a confidential person.

If Herât is taken by the Persians, great harm and loss will ensue from such neighbours in Afghanistan. As yet, the Persians have only taken Ghorian, by the treachery of the soldiers in the fort. They were of the Taimoori tribe, and wished to surrender the fort, and also deliver Shere Mohomed Khan and Halim Khan as prisoners to the Shah; and they did so.

For the last 25 days the Persians besieged Herât, and I do not think they will take it soon.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

(Political Department.)

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 4th ultimo, transmitting copies of correspondence with the Meer of Koondooz, and noticing the opportunity it has afforded you of conciliating that chief by the deputation of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood; communicating also the spontaneous offer made by him to restore all the manuscripts and books belonging to the late Mr. Moorcroft.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General deems it fortunate that an opportunity has been offered for entering into a more friendly intercourse with the Chief of Koondooz; and his Lordship highly approves the prompt and judicious mode in which you availed yourself of the opening presented. You will, of course, report at your earliest convenience the result of the visit which may be made by the two gentlemen whom you had deputed.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,

Secretary to the Governor General of India.

Camp at Cawnpore,
27 December 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 5th ultimo, reporting having shown Hajee Hoossain Alli Khan's credentials to the Ameer of Cabool, through his secretary, who has pronounced them to be a fabrication, and the man an impostor.

2. The information now furnished will be communicated to the Bombay Government, who will be requested to apprise the individual in question that the artifice which he attempted to impose upon the British Government has been detected, and that it will be better for him to quit the British territories at the earliest practicable period.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,

Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Camp at Cawnpore,
27 December 1837.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

(Political Department.)

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letters dated 10th, 15th, 16th, 18th, and 19th ultimo, respecting the latest intelligence regarding the designs of Persia eastward, the probable result of an attack on Herat, and the ulterior motives which led Persia to Herat.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the information now acknowledged is interesting, but that it is not sufficiently authentic to admit of any satisfactory conclusion being formed as to the real designs of Persia or Candahar, or to lead to any immediate apprehension that the integrity of Herat will be impaired, or that the present balance of power in Central Asia is likely to be disturbed. It is undoubtedly to be desired that a probable source of disturbances in the active animosities existing between the rulers of Herat and Candahar, should be removed. In this spirit, in all the communications which have been addressed to you, the importance has been indicated of marking our desire to respect the independence of Candahar, as well as that of the other Afghan States; and Mr. MacNeill has been requested, in using his good offices for the security of Herat, to endeavour to provide at the same time that the designs of Shah Kamran against Candahar shall not be further prosecuted.

3. It would be well if the conviction could be impressed on the Herat and Candahar Chiefs, that by their mutual contests they are furnishing the means of threatening and injuring both to Persia; a power which, if once able to establish itself in Afghanistan, would seek only its own aggrandisement in their ruin. The same reasoning will apply in, at least, an equal degree, to any attempt on the part of the ruler of Cabool to found upon your presence at his court any pretensions to superiority, or to an undue influence over the Chief of Candahar; and whilst his Lordship thinks that he can trace in some of your late despatches the existence of such a design in the mind of Dost Mahomed, he relies with perfect confidence upon your strict attention to the instructions which have already been given to you in regard to the just and important policy which it is the wish of the British Government to pursue. The means of acting, to a greater or less degree, upon these instructions, will, no doubt, arise in the course of your residence in these countries, and his Lordship will rejoice in seeing them judiciously and successfully used. He would further remark, that where so much of our information depends only on uncertain rumours, or means of communication not implicitly to be trusted, and where our direct influence is so extremely limited, the most studious caution is indispensably necessary; and his Lordship is of opinion that a visit of friendly intercourse from you, or from some member of your mission, designed to mark our recognition of that independence of the courts of Candahar and Herat, may become desirable at an earlier period than you seem to anticipate. In the precarious position in which Dost Mahomed is placed, our good offices for the peace and security of his remaining territory should be thankfully accepted by him; but from the moment that he may begin to found views of ambition and intrigue upon this tender of good offices, it must become your object to reassure those whom such views may affect.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Camp at Cawnpoor,
27 December 1837.

(True copy.)
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th of September last, which only reached me yesterday evening, conveying the displeasure of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council regarding the unauthorised publication in the Bombay newspapers of a communication from Mr. Lord.

2. It is in vain that I urge, in excuse, the injudiciousness of friends, and that Mr. Lord was himself much concerned at the publication. I have taken means
to

to prevent a repetition of the practice, so deserving of censure; and I beg to assure his Lordship in Council that all the officers with me, as well as myself, are equally concerned at anything of the kind having arisen to call for his Lordship's notice.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 27 December 1837.

(True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

SINCE my communication of the 21st instant, regarding the progress of the Persians at Herat, I regret to have to report that the fortified town of Ghorian has surrendered. The Shah was unable to make any impression upon it with his artillery, but the governor of it, who is a half-brother of the Vuzeer of Herat, was compelled to give it up by some of the garrison. The result of its capture has been to afford an abundance of grain to the Persian army.

2. On the fall of Ghorian the Persians invested Herat, and letters 27 days' old from that city report that they had attempted to undermine one of the towers, but had hitherto met with no success, and that Kamran and his people were resolute in their opposition.

3. On the authority of Mr. Vitkovitch, I state that the Shah's army is under the guidance of Mr. Barowski, that Captain Stoddart is present on the part of Mr. MacNeill, and a Mr. Goutte on the part of the Russian Ambassador. The presence of Lieutenant Leech at Candahar will soon enable me to give more full and authentic particulars of what is passing in the Persian camp at Herat, and I do not now forward a voluminous correspondence from Candahar, as the results of it all are above given, and many of the reports are inconsistent with each other.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 30 December 1837.

(True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

(Political Department.)

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the accompanying extract of a letter from Mr. Lord. Though the communication is not official, it contains details regarding the reception of that gentleman and Mr. Wood at Koondooz, which will, I believe, prove acceptable to Government.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 1 January 1838.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Dr. *Lord*, dated Koondooz, 7 December 1837.

WE left Kabul on the 15th of last month, and arrived here in perfect health and safety on the 4th of the present, having experienced no difficulty worth mentioning on the way. On the 21st we had reached Bamian, and next day entered Meer Moorad Beg's territories, from which moment the Mirza Budna took on himself the duties of a mohmandar, and continued to perform them with the utmost regularity and attention. We continued on the direct road as far as Kooran, which, being his jagheer, we halted there one day to oblige him, and had the satisfaction to receive there a letter from the Meer, expressing his regret at the difficulties he heard we had experienced in our first attempt at crossing Hindoo Koosh, and his satisfaction at hearing that we had now safely reached his country. There was a letter from Atma Dewan Begee, requesting we would send him full information of our movements, and when we might be expected. To this I despatched an answer, but our cossid delayed so much on the road, that we had reached Alnabad, within one stage of Koondooz, before he had delivered his letter. In consequence, on our arrival at Alnabad there was no one to meet us, as had been intended; the Mirza expressed much disappointment at this, and requested leave to precede us next morning, saying he was certain the cossid could not have arrived. He did so, and about four miles from Koondooz we were met by the Dewan Begee himself, who, on receiving from the Mirza news of our approach, hurried out to receive us with whatever horsemen were at hand. We afterwards learnt it was intended the Meer's brother (my patient) should have come, but he happened to be asleep when the Mirza arrived. He came, however, to visit us on the very evening of our arrival at a most comfortable house of the Atma's, where we dismounted, and which has been placed entirely at our disposal. We received also a congratulating message from the Meer, desiring us to consider the country our own. This was followed by a present of tea and sweetmeats; and next morning, having heard that we had used native costume on our journey, he sent each of us a full suit of Uzbek clothing, and a present in money of 200 rupees; he also intimated that we might name our own time for paying him a visit, which, as we required a day to prepare, we engaged for the following morning. In the evening I had a long visit with Atma, who came after dinner, and sat with me more than three hours, during which I took occasion to explain to him the objects of your mission as far as they could be interesting to him; mentioned the views of our Government in opening the navigation of the Indus, and their intention of establishing a fair somewhere on its banks. He appeared much pleased and struck with the intelligence, and made many inquiries respecting the rate of tolls, duties, &c. I mentioned Runjeet Sing's fleet of 20 boats going to Bombay and Sind, and that our Government, as an encouragement, had promised they should enter free of all duties.

Just as I had written this, Atma called, and brought with him a letter of yours that had been round by the way of Khooloom, and had only just been forwarded by his agent, Chumnadass. It was opened and read in my presence, and he was evidently most highly gratified by the expressions of friendship it contained, and which, I assured him, were no more than what you really felt. He has desired me, in return, to give his best salaam, and assure you that himself and everything he has shall be at our service as long as we remain here. But to continue my journal.

Next day, December 6th, we went to wait on the Meer; he appeared to us quite a plain, good old man; came outside his door and down his steps to receive us; gave us his hand, invited us in, and placed us at the top of the hall, while he himself sat down at one side, and the few of his courtiers who were allowed to sit occupied the other. The greater number stood below a couple of pillars which divided the upper from the lower end of the hall. The Meer then inquired for your health, and said it was an honour (sirfraz) that Feringees had come to visit him. After a little conversation, I produced your letter, which was read, and which he pronounced at its termination to be "Bisyar mihrbani." I then said you had sent some presents, of which, though not worthy of him, you begged his acceptance. This, he said, was quite unexpected; our coming he looked on as a great thing, and had never looked for anything more. On the presents being produced, he examined them each with much attention, appeared much pleased, and, as I heard afterwards from the Mirza, was highly satisfied. He then resumed the conversation; inquired about the relative size of Feringistan and Hindoostan, the nature of our power in the latter, and whether it had any other king than ours. This enabled me to mention the kings whom we had pensioned, with which he seemed much struck; and one of his Mirzas explained to him that it was the policy of the English, when they conquered a country, to keep in places the "nokurs" whom they found in it, by which means they avoided driving people to despair, and more easily attached them to their Government. He then inquired whether the Russians or the English were the cleverest, to which the same Mirza (a Peshawary, as I have since learned) at once replied, that the English were far the cleverest people in all Feringistan—an assertion which I did not feel myself called on to contradict. After a little further conversation we took our leave; and I next went to visit my patient, and regret to say, his case is almost hopeless, being anamiasis (gutta serena) complete, and of eight years' standing, in one eye; incomplete, and of 18 months' duration, in the other. I have fairly informed him that I consider the former quite gone, and that I have but slender hopes of benefiting the

the latter; but that as his general health, and particularly his digestive powers, seemed much impaired, I shall require some time to improve these before I give him a definite answer regarding the chances of recovering his eyesight. On this understanding I have commenced his treatment.

(True extract.) •

(signed)

A. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

IN continuation of my reports regarding the attack of the Persians on Herat, I have the honour to forward, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, two letters, the one from Mr. Lord at Koondooz, and the other from Candahar, conveying the latest intelligence regarding this subject. I have not, of course, had time to hear from Lieutenant Leech.

Nos. 1 & 2.

2. The information now transmitted from these opposite quarters is corroborative of the fact that Kamran finds himself in an alarming situation at Herat, but the strength of the place and the season of the year are much in his favour. I can only account for the fact of a portion of the Persian army marching towards Maimuna, which is particularly mentioned by Mr. Lord, in a scarcity of forage near the Shah's camp.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 11 January 1838.

No. 1.

EXTRACTS of a Letter from *Dr. Lord* to *Captain Burnes*, dated Koondooz,
27 December 1837.

ON the 17th, a man arrived here bringing a letter from Kamran, saying that his town was surrounded by the Persian army, and begging assistance. The reply of Moorad Beg was, that there were two other kings in Turkistan greater than he (*viz.*, Bokhara and Kokan); that if they joined, he would give every assistance in his power, but that alone he was not able to compete with Persia. The letter said that the Persians had captured a small fort on each side of the town, and were preparing to form the siege. The messenger left with his answer next day, and we have since had a report here that Kamran has sent his own son to Bokhara. This, Atma says, is not the case, but adds that a "kalun sirdar" has been sent. The only auxiliary Kamran appears as yet to have found is the Khan of Orgunje, who, it is reported, has sent 12,000 horse.

The day after this message was despatched I visited the Meer. He spoke freely of the advance of the Persians, whom he called Kaffirs, and said if Musulmans would only hold together, they need not fear any one. I replied, the Uzbekhs were sufficient, without any foreign aid, for the defence of Toorkistan; but he said they were beyond all other disunited, and that nothing but a most urgent danger could induce them to make common cause.

While writing, Meerza Rahem (the Meer's chief Meerza), came in; and, as I saw he was full of news, I sat down to hear what he had to say, and his news is important. Late last night the brother of Khan Bucha (Chief of Muzar) rode in here express; and though it was after dark, had an immediate interview with the Meer. A division of the Persian army 13,000 men, with eight guns (but the numbers are of course exaggerated) had taken the direction of Meimuna, as the plan of the war seems to be to waste the whole country round before actually forming the siege of Herat. The Meimuna people, mustering 10,000, went as far as the Moorghaub at Murochak to meet this force, and have been totally defeated. The Meer of Meimuna ran without once stopping until he shut himself up in his fort, where he is momentarily expecting the Persians. He has sent ambassadors all round to ask aid; one had come to Muzar, and the Muzar man had immediately forwarded the intelligence,

intelligence, so that yesterday, the 26th, was the eighth day from its leaving Meimuna; they further added, as "gossip," piece of news, that the Persians had sent a detachment against Kandahar, and another against Merwe, which latter was to be attacked unless the King of Bokhara immediately declared himself a friend. The man ended his story by asking, as a matter concerning the safety of all Toorkistan, that Moorad Beg should at once send off assistance to Meimuna. To this the Meer replied, "Even if I wished, how could I go there? Balkh is closed; Sirupool is closed; Akoha is closed; what road shall I go?" To this the Meerza added from himself, that as to the Meer going anywhere out of his own territories, it was impossible; for what were the men to live on? They could go "allemany," he said, when each man took three days' barley in his khoodjun (saddle bags) and a little "kroot" for himself; but when it became necessary to provision for a ten or twelve days' march, it could not be done, because the Meer had no treasury.

I was about going to Huzant Ewam myself, and taking my patient with me (it is his government); but this news to-day makes me doubt whether I had not better stay here, at least until we see how matters go, as here I may be able occasionally to send you a little information, whereas there I should be quite out of the way of it. If the Persians take Meimuna, of which there seems to be no reasonable doubt, there is nothing earthly to prevent their taking Balkh, and then all this country is at their mercy; there is neither hill nor fort to protect it. I mentioned this to the Meerza to-day, who said, "Very true, but then we have our hills behind us." All eyes at present, however, are turned towards the King of Bokhara, and if he really has an ambitious disposition and a warlike turn, he might without difficulty put himself now at the head of all Toorkistan; but I doubt if he has the ability. The King of Kokan has never recovered his fight with the Chinese, and Moorad Beg, as I have shown, is totally powerless out of his own territories. I heard this evening that 6,000 of the Orgunge auxiliaries formed part of the Meimuna army which suffered so complete a defeat at Muiochut; if this be so, Kamran is left almost alone to fight his battle.

(True extracts.)

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

INTELLIGENCE from Candahar regarding Herat, received on 7 January 1838, at Cabool.

It is now forty days since Herat is under siege, and all communication between that city and Candahar has been stopped for a long time.

Yar Mahomed Khan, the Vizeer of Herat, has sent an elchee to the Sirdar of Candahar with presents of two horses, and has urged them to proceed along with their army to Furah, where they will be furnished with a considerable sum of money to defray their expenses of the journey. In case they are not inclined to assist against the Persians, they are solicited to abandon the design of becoming friendly to Mahomed Shah.

The elchee is also the bearer of this message, that if the Sirdars are contracting friendship with the Shah in the hope of getting Herat as a present from his Majesty, Yar Mahomed Khan would be glad to deliver Herat to them, rather than give it up to the Persians.

News has arrived from Furah that Kamran summoned all the nobles and commanders of his army, and told them that if they were desirous to give up Herat to the Persians, they should inform him before, that he may quit it with his family, and seek some other shelter. This moved the hearts of the courtiers much, who swore to fight against the Persians until their heads rolled under the feet of their master.

The people of Iam, who speak Persian, and are in the service of Kamran, sent a message to deceive the Persians, that they should storm the city at night, when they will meet no opposition. The Shah, relying on the message of the Iamis, assaulted the city, where his troops were received with shots. Having this favourable opportunity, Yar Mahomed, with 2,000 men, came out of the city, and attacked the rear of the assailants. Yar Mahomed Khan, after killing many of the Persians, returned to Herat in possession of four guns of the Shah.

Mahomed Shah has sent Shir Mahomed Khan, the brother of Vuzier Yar Mahomed Khan, along with his family to Meshed, and has kept his son with the camp.

The Sirdars are all in Candahar, and talk of sending Sirdar Rahim Dil Khan to Herat, and following him after the fast Ramzan is finished.

(True translation.)

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the report called for by you in your communication of the 5th September 1836, regarding the establishment of an entrepôt for the Indus trade, and other highly important subjects connected with it.

2. Having fully stated the views that have occurred to me of the defect in existing arrangements, and the means of their improvement, I need not trouble his Lordship in Council with any further remarks. I beg, however, to draw attention to the 21st paragraph of the report, which exhibits the beneficial effects produced by the countenance of the British Government on the trade of these countries.

3. As it was originally intended that this should be a joint report by Captain Wade, Lieutenant Mackeson, and myself, and circumstances prevented its being made, I shall transmit a copy of my own report to both these officers, and also to the Governor General's Agent for the Affairs of Sind.

I have, &c.

Cabool, 18 January 1838.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

REPORT on the Establishment of an Entrepôt, or Fair, for the Indus Trade.
By Captain *Burnes*.

1. BY desire of the Government of India, I now proceed to record the result of my inquiries and observations regarding "the most convenient place for the establishment of a mart or entrepôt, with reference to all the branches of trade proceeding up, down, or across the Indus, and the means best suited for the establishment of an annual fair, in furtherance of the plan for promoting commerce by way of this river, providing at the same time for the security of the merchant and a system of moderate duties."

2. It may be observed at the outset, that in the foundation of a periodical fair there is no innovation of established usage; the system is known to most Asiatic nations, has been followed up with eminent success in Russia, exists in full force to this day in Toorkistan, North of Hindoo Koosh, is not unknown in some parts of the Cabool dominions, and has long been familiar to the natives of India. The celebrated fair at Hurdwar will immediately occur; and, besides it, numerous "melas," or assemblages, take place in different parts of the country. The performance of a religious ceremony, or the casual collection of a body of people for any purpose, would most naturally suggest to the merchant that the opportunity was favourable both for the sale and purchase of goods; and to this, no doubt, we owe these institutions, which were at one time equally common to our own country. In the altered state of society in Europe, which has brought people to congregate in towns where every necessary and luxury of life may each day, without inconvenience, be procured, fairs have become less useful; but in Asia everything yet contributes to give them vigour, and they flourish as the only means by which the nations distant from each other, and the population of which is often widely spread, can be readily supplied with articles of home and foreign produce.

3. Although there has not been hitherto any such establishment on the Indus the materials exist ready for the purpose; and had the political state of these countries admitted, we should long ere this have had a flourishing fair on the banks of this river. The merchants who carry on the trade from India to Cabool are principally Lohanee Afghans, whose country lies westward of the river between Dera Ismael Khan and Cabool, and they now make an annual journey to and from these places, bringing with them the productions of Afghanistan, and taking back those

those of India and Europe. Being a pastoral race, they are their own carriers; and being brave, they require no protection but their own arms. They leave the rugged mountains of the west at Drabund, and assemble at Dera Ismael Khan, where they dispose of some of their property; others proceed lower down the Indus to Dera Ghazee Khan, or cross to Mooltan and Bhawalpoor, where their wants, in a return supply of goods, are sometimes to be procured. Failing this, the Lohances pass into India, and even to Calcutta and Bombay. Their resort to these distant marks is solely attributable, to inability to supply their wants nearer home; and while it would be the business of a fair to effect this, the site of it is indicated by the names of those four places above noted, Dera Ismael, Dera Ghazee, Mooltan, and Bhawalpoor. Other localities, Mittun, or Mittuncote, on the south, and Kala Bagh on the north, also suggest themselves; and I shall now proceed to state the eligibility or otherwise of those different localities as an entrepôt of trade. The whole of them have been particularly described in reports already forwarded, and it will not be necessary to repeat details on the present occasion; it will only be required to refer to the sketch of the caravan rulers west of the Indus.

4. The highest navigable point of the Indus throughout the year is Kala Bagh, above the latitude 33° north, about 80 miles from Attock, and the same distance from Dera Ismael. There is no doubt that boats can ascend to Attock for eight or nine months of the year, and even to Peshawur; but the Indus between Attock and Kala Bagh, always narrow, is rapid and dangerous during the swell, though the downward navigation is never interrupted. Kala Bagh, therefore, is the point to which this river can be ascended with advantage, and below it we must seek a site for commerce. That town itself carries great celebrity from its salt mines, but it is situated in a barren country apart from the great caravan roads; though there is a line of communication from it, or rather Muckul, 28 miles higher up, by Jajee and Tooric, to Cabool, through the valley of Bungush, which is now frequented. Light duties and safety from the Khyberrees compensate for the inconveniences of an unfrequented road. This line can only be considered as a partial outlet from the Indus and Kala Bagh, in consequence not adapted for our purpose.

5. Dera Ismael, which succeeds Kala Bagh, has an advantageous position, and is, besides, the market town of the Lohance merchants. It is, however, a small place, and subject to alteration, from the inundations of the river, which a few years ago swept away the entire town. It is nearer to the great commercial city of Umritsur than any of the other places on the Indus, and lies on the road between it and Cabool. This tract, however, is not much frequented, except in the extensive export of the native fabrics of Jung and Meengana, which consist of coarse white cloth. European goods are not in general sent by this road; for the merchant, besides avoiding the desert tract between the Jelum and Indus, derives the supply of goods for Cabool and Toorkistan from marts below Umritsur. Though Dera Ismael covers the road from that city, it does not on that account possess any paramount advantages; for the object being to promote a trade by the river, and the present supply being procured from the towns lower down, they possess superior advantages, without casting Umritsur out from the line; Dera Ismael Khan must yet be considered one of the most eligible sites on the Indus.

6. The town of Dera Ghazee Khan possesses, however, the first importance in the Upper Indus; it is itself a manufacturing place, and it leads to the commercial towns of Mooltan and Bhawalpoor, which adjoin it, and now furnish many articles for the Cabool market. It is about equidistant from Umritsur and the opulent town of Shikarpoor in Sinde, so that it embraces the trade of the Punjab and India, of Candahar and Cabool, and the more remote capitals dependent on them, Herat and Bokhara. The goods of India may be sent to it by rivers as far as Mooltan and Ooch, and the narrow neck of land which lies between these places and Dera Ghazee may either be crossed by camels, which are both cheap and abundant, or the Indus itself may be used as their channel of transport for articles that are bulky, and in which any particular expedition is not sought. From Bombay to Dera Ghazee the water communication is open, and from the Upper Indus the intercourse is equally available. Many roads in former times also led down upon this town from the west, and time and peace will, in all probability, re-open these now forsaken lines, which will thus concentrate in one point

point all that can be desired. In addition, Dera Ghazee itself is a populous and thriving town, agreeably situated in a grove of date trees, and not liable to be flooded by the Indus. With a fertile soil and an open airy neighbourhood, the necessaries of life are to be purchased cheaper than in any other place on the Indus, and the supply may be increased from the adjacent districts.

7. Of Mooltan and Bhawalpoor I do not speak as sites for an emporium, since they do not lie on the Indus. They both stand on rivers which can be approached from the north and south, and very near Dera Ghazee, the one being distant but 45, and the other 80 miles. Their vicinity confers further advantages on Dera Ghazee, and were Mooltan situated on the Indus, it would certainly be a preferable locality, but as it stands, it is destitute of the advantages enjoyed by the Lower Dera.

8. There is yet another position, and which at first sight appears the most favourable of all the towns on the Indus, Mittuncote. With this impression, I entered on the subject on which I am now reporting, for Mittun stands at the confluence of the Indus, with the five rivers of the Punjab. An examination of this locality led me at once to abandon every hope of its suiting the purposes intended. The place itself stands about two miles from the Indus on an elevated spot, but the country around is flooded by the inundation, and either under water or a marsh for half the year, when it is both hot and sickly. Mittun is a small town with a population of about 4,000 souls, and though a site not far from it to the west, and much preferable, might be found; still, the objection of being unable to bring boats close up, of branches of the river as well as a damp soil intervening, are positive, and exclude Mittun, however well adapted it may be in a geographical point of view, from being a chosen spot on the Indus.

9. It will be thus seen that Dera Ghazee Khan has advantages above all other places for being the entrepôt of the Indus trade, and that the only other locality which can share the preference, is Dera Ismail Khan: this advantage arising from its upper situation on the banks of the river.

10. Next to the site, the season of the year at which the bazar should be held must be considered. The Lohance and all other traders descend from Bokhara and Cabool about the month of November, and set out on their return in the end of April. This, therefore, indicates the time of assembly to be between these months, which will fix the cold weather as the season, and the whole of January as the month. A later date than this would prove beneficial in the upward navigation of the river, which, from the nature of the winds, is most readily accomplished in spring and summer, but it is necessary that the merchants should reach Cabool in June; and, besides, taking advantage of the season, and avoiding the heat in the valley of the Indus, all procrastination which would interfere with established usage is to be avoided. A month or two earlier of the fall of the year would suit the inclinations of the western merchants even better than January, for it would relieve them from their anxieties as to procuring what was wanted: since they might still, if disappointed, go into India and return in time for the caravan to Cabool. The delay, after purchase, is to them no very great inconvenience, for their families and flocks are with them and they feel themselves at home. Still January is about the healthiest time of the year; and, ensues, in consequence, a regular communication with Shikarpoor and all other places.

11. The interest which the Government of India has always exhibited for the improvement of commerce by the line of the Indus, has been made known to the mercantile community, but the British must appear directly in concert before any fair or bazar can be established with success, the superintendence of a British officer on the spot is imperiously necessary. Dera Ghazee Khan happens to be in a foreign territory, but the ruler of Lahore, if actuated by the spirit already evinced, will certainly make no objection to allow the same system which has been pursued in the Lower Indus to be followed up here. The place should be made neutral ground. The agent will then be invested with powers which will prove of the highest benefit. The protection of property, the police of the bazar, the regulation of its location, cleanliness and supply, the collection of the duties that may be fixed, should all be managed with a competent establishment by him. A military force, probably a regiment of infantry, would be quite sufficient to ensure confidence, and it is immaterial whether Maharaja Runjeet Singh or the British Government furnish it, if its services are left to be regulated by the British officer who superintends. It must also become an especial part of his duty to adjust all disputes that may arise between the traders, and in the event of any one dying

without heirs, to take possession of the property and account for it according to usage, when those entitled to it may make their appearance. A regulation of this description in Russia has given great popularity to the system pursued in that empire.

12. It might be considered premature to enter upon any arrangement for the erection of booths or sheds for the accommodation of the merchant, but in the event of success attending these measures, it will certainly become a necessary duty. This too must be in the hands of the superintendent, who will arrange for their being put up and removed, for the rent leviable and the distribution of merchandise in different quarters, according to the usage in Asiatic countries. It will also be necessary to erect warehouses of a substantial nature to house such property as the merchant may leave behind him either from inclination, inability to transport it, or death; and this establishment will likewise require the vigilant superintendence of the British agent. The neighbourhood of Dera Ghazee presents many places adapted for the purpose, but the site should be between the river and the town, and as near the former as possible. The style of building in these parts is with sun-dried bricks and a wooden frame-work, so that arrangement might easily be adopted which combined economy and utility with beauty.

13. The residence of the agent at the fair should, on every account, be permanent throughout the year, and his undivided time devoted to the subject. All references sent to him from any direction would thus be satisfactorily answered, and in the end might become the means of communicating the nature of the probable demand and the necessary supply so as to ensure a good sale, and the merchants against loss. A watchful vigilance such as this, would materially forward the interests of commerce, and petty quarrels that now arise among the chieftains, such as that which exists at the present time, between Bhawalpoor and Mooltan, regarding indigo, would be no more heard of. Reciprocity would then become general. The very circumstances of the officer's presence will also produce the most happy effects in the neighbouring countries. He will have it in his power to conciliate the hill tribes, the Muzarees and Boogtoes, to open a safe road through their country to Shikarpoor, which is to be done without difficulty, for they are friendly disposed to the British Government, and ready to meet its wishes. They and the mountaineers to the west, might even in time, if properly managed, supersede the necessity of the presence of regular troops, for a degree of reliance on these half civilised tribes is almost always rewarded by faithful service, and the Muzarees, once notorious for their piracies on the Indus, may yet become like the Bheels of Southern India, a protection against plunder and robbery. Should these expectations not be realised, it is not to be doubted that the near residence of a British officer will deter them from acts which are at variance with the tranquillity of the country and the well-being of society.

14. The advantages of a resident superintendent being manifest, it seems most desirable that he should be relieved from attending to the navigation or wants of those proceeding by the river in the issue of the necessary papers. Passports may still be granted by him and by the agents at the head and mouth of the river, but the seeing to the execution should be entrusted to a distinct officer, who should, if possible, be a nautical man, and charged with the superintendence of the navigation, as the officer is of the fair. This is a matter of the highest importance, for notwithstanding the arrangements that have already been made, I myself was applied to by one man at Khyrpoor, Bhawalpoor and Mittun, or at three different places, for one passport before he could move his cargo, it having been necessary to withdraw the present British agent to perform a necessary duty near Lodiana. This officer should have free permission to proceed from Attock to the sea, ought to act in concert with the superintendent of the fair, and under the guidance of the agents of the Governor General, while the native officers along the river should be directed to attend to his orders. If it was deemed advisable, and it certainly appears very much so, he could organise an establishment of pilots along the Indus, which would cause no expense to Government, and be hailed as a boon by the community, who would readily contribute to its support. All regulations also regarding the hire of boats should be under him, as well as full permission to examine their condition and reject those which are not river-worthy. The merchant would thus be secure against imposition and loss, and the boatman would take a pride in his vessel, since regular employment and his lawful hire would be ensured to him. In process of time too, we should thus acquire a complete influence over all the people on the Indus itself and along its

its line, and with this, such an accurate knowledge of the river itself as to suggest those improvements which experience never fails to point out.

15. The treaties already made provide for the levy of duties on the Indus, from the sea to Mittun. The navigation from that place to Attock should at once be arranged, and as the distance is about equal, the toll of 240 rupees per boat now leviable may be doubled, sharing the aliquot parts of it, according to the distance which the boats may ascend. If Dera Ghazee Khan becomes the site of the fair, 60 rupees must be added to the 240, so that the total leviable from the sea will be 300 rupees. The additional toll will, of course belong to Runjeet Singh, since the river passes through his territories. This portion of the arrangement is more simple than the adjustment of the duties at the fair. For the first few years these should be trifling, if not altogether remitted, but a scale must be fixed for their ultimate levy. At present, goods pay a tax at Dera Ghazee Khan according to weight, which averages on cloth and indigo an *ad valorem* duty from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This is, however, a mere transit duty, and differs materially from what the State would be entitled to if the goods were disposed of. In Russia, the duties leviable are four per cent. on entering the fair, and one per cent. on quitting it, which might be introduced as the standard at Dera Ghazee Khan if no reasonable objection presents itself.

16. Since it becomes an object of high importance that the merchants proceeding to this emporium should have the means of procuring a return, so that they may avail themselves of the spare tonnage of their vessels; it would be well to consider how far the British Government can afford to admit into its territories the rock salt of Kala Bagh and the Punjab. This is a point on which I cannot be supposed to judge, but it certainly appears feasible enough, and even consistent with the regulations regarding the monopoly, to admit mineral salt into India, imposing upon it like duties. The prime cost of salt at the mine, or on the sea-shore, is a mere trifle; but the one article is far superior to the other, and in course of time, we might see vessels sailing from Bombay, with cargoes partly made up of Punjab salt for the Liverpool and London markets, instead of storing mud and stones to be cast away in road-making at Blackwall and the docks. Salt being a valuable commodity, would hardly appear to require any remission of toll.

17. Grain is an article which the fertile banks of the Indus and Punjab rivers admit of being largely exported; but the present treaties grant no privileges to encourage the transports of this bulky article beyond sea, and are consequently tantamount to prohibition. An arrangement should immediately be entered upon with all the powers to free grain of every description from all but a nominal duty. So long as profit is not derivable, none of it will be exported, except from one section of the river to another; while a revised system will be productive of advantages alike to the community of Western India and the growers in the Indus. Grain, particularly rice, is now extensively exported from the delta of the Indus, and a light toll, never exceeding 24 rupees per boat, is levied; so that it would only be in unison with the already established usage to extend this benefit throughout the course of the river. One per cent. *ad valorem*, would suffice to check irregularity, and be a fair tax on this necessary of life; but even this might be reduced according to the distance from which the grain is brought, since the harvest of the Punjab has to be transported to the delta of the Indus, before it can compete with what is raised so much nearer the market. If an article of value cannot be found, a coarser description furnishes a return which, though it be inferior, promotes the good of trade. This is apparent in the commerce which America now carries on with India.

18. Without instancing other articles in which it would be advisable to lighten the duties, it has occurred to me, as a general proposition, that it would be most desirable to remit one half of the toll to vessels which had already paid the full amount in ascending or descending the Indus. This will place the parties at both extremities of the river on a par with each other and encourage them, instead of breaking up or selling their boats, at the termination of a profitable trip, to set out upon another, even though it be less advantageous. If some such arrangement is not made, many of the boats will return empty, and no duty can be then leviable on their passage, which subjects the rulers to loss, and prevents the scheme coming to maturity. It might, however, be provided, that the upward and downward voyage must be performed in the course of one year, that is in 12 months, to entitle the merchant to the remission suggested.

19. Whatever plan or arrangements may be finally adopted for the removal of obstacle to this trade, it will be necessary not only to promulgate them by means of the gazettes in India, but to have them translated into Persian, Punjabee, Shikarporee, and Sindee, and extensively circulated in the countries themselves. A lamentable ignorance exists among the native merchants regarding the intentions of Government in opening the Indus. Some few individuals, who have had intercourse with the European officers, are aware of the designs in view; but the bulk of the community are informed, and what is further, consider that the regulations as stated, are intended for the benefit of foreigners to their exclusion. The natives of Sindh in particular fear to embark capital, since they believe they would not be entitled to, or rather could not ensure the same protection as a strange merchant from India or the Punjab. This impression would be removed by having the regulations that are fixed upon made public, under the authority of the rulers themselves, followed up further by personal explanation from the agents of the British Government. The Ameers of Sindh, and all the other powers, are guaranteed by treaty from any interference with their usage regarding internal trade; but they are not, on that account, at liberty to prevent the merchants of their country, should they wish it, from profiting by the Indus being opened, which would certainly be an exclusion of the natives in behalf of foreigners. This is a subject which requires explanation, particularly in Sindh.

20. The free navigation of the Indus will be productive of two advantages distinct from each other, the one a more ready supply of one part of its banks with the productions of the other, the next a means of transport by water, for a considerable distance, of the goods of India and Europe, to Cabool and Toorkistan. The first branch of this commerce, or the internal trade, will probably continue in the hands of those resident on the river, and the speculations already entered upon show it to be a profitable kind of commerce. The latter is, however, by far the most important, and which it is our object to encourage. To form a more perfect idea of the articles in demand, two lists are annexed; the first (No. 1), naming the goods which at present reach the city of Cabool from Russia, by way of Bokhara, distinguishing those which are sent on to India; the second (No. 2), descriptive of the articles which are now brought to Afghanistan from India and Europe. I also add a third list (No. 3), detailing the productions which are sent from the Afghan country to India. Many articles not now enumerated may find their way in due time to these lists, but they are, I believe, at present complete, while descriptions and specimens of them, together with the probable profit, have also been prepared for the information of the community in different papers, about to be or already forwarded.

21. In the various proposals which I have suggested it has been my endeavour to avoid all unnecessary interference with the merchant. The principles of trade are, in these days, too well understood to admit of any useless interposition on the part of the State. We may aid it without caressing, and best advance its interests by removing obstructions and leaving it to run its course. If the success of other such schemes is an encouragement, it is indeed to be found in what is now passing in the Russian Empire. Fairs have been founded there in the memory of man, at which business to the amount of 200,000,000 of roubles,* or about 10,000,000*l.* sterling is now transacted, and this is even on the increase. The removal of the great fair of Maccaire to Nejnei has only served to give commerce a greater impetus, and if Dera Ghaza Khan is not found suitable, on experiment, another site may easily be found. With light duties for the few first years, this fair cannot fail to prosper, and goods will even desert the natural track if their owner can secure a more ready sale and a smaller profit. The continental system of Napoleon led to Russia being supplied with English goods by way of India, Cabool and Bokhara, which is supported by the authority of a Russian writer and the concurring testimony of native merchants. The channel is therefore not new, and as some of the fairs of Russia are, in a great degree, supported by the trade with Central Asia, a part of that trade will certainly be drawn to the nearer mart on the Indus and contribute to the success of this undertaking. A banking establishment may be said to be at hand to aid it. Shikarpore is, at this day, the focus of all the money transactions of Western Asia, and it is but 300 miles distant from the site of the proposed bazar, and between it and Bombay,

the

* *Mr. Laveau and Captain Cochrane.*

the great mart of Western India. Above all, the interest now exhibited by the British Government in encouraging this commerce must prove of the highest advantage. The effect of its having sent a mission to Cabool has already become so apparent that no less than five caravans, with shawls, have arrived from Cashmere since our reaching Cabool, while such a briskness has been unknown for years; and what is still more remarkable, the merchants have come with a knowledge that the duties have been raised sevenfold. They express themselves universally ready to make the additional sacrifice of duty, and publicly avow that the arrangement of Government, in deputing an agent to encourage commerce, has inspired them with this renewed confidence.

22. In conclusion, it is desirable to recapitulate the contents of the foregoing report, and to state briefly the propositions contained in it, which are as follows:—

1st. That the establishment of a fair on the Indus is agreeable to the usage of Asiatic nations, and therefore a very desirable measure.

2d. That the best site for such a mart, with reference to all the branches of trade, is Dera Ghazee Khan.

3d. That the season most suitable is the month of January, during which, or part of it, the assemblage should take place.

4th. That the site should be made neutral ground, and the fair managed, in all its branches, by an agent of the British Government, who should be appointed superintendent, and through whom all duties should be collected, places of accommodation erected, and arrangements made for the security of property of the absent or present.

5th. That the superintendence of the navigation of the river, and the due execution of what is required from the powers on it, should be vested in a different officer, who should, if possible, be a nautical man, and through whom a pilot establishment might in time be formed.

6th. That the Indus should be thrown open to Attock on the principles already acted upon, and the amount of toll and duties fixed according to a given scale.

7th. That if consistent with what is due to the State, the mineral salt of the Punjab should be admitted into British India under certain limitations, its export contributing to the public good as a return trade.

8th. That the toll on boats laden with grain should be revised, and a lighter assessment fixed with the same end.

9th. That half toll should only be levied on all return boats, which would place the merchants at both extremities of the river on a par, and also promote commerce.

10th. That all the arrangements entered upon, besides being published in the gazettes of India, should be translated into the languages of the country and made known to the native merchants: first, through the rulers on the Indus, and then the agents of the British Government; a lamentable ignorance now existing of all that is passing.

11th. That the mercantile community may judge of existing state of the trade, the articles in demand and procurable in return, three lists of them are annexed, the nature of the profit and other particulars being furnished elsewhere.

12th. That the state of the fairs in Russia, the business done at them being on the increase, holds out encouragement to the merchant, that with the facilities existing, and a bank at Shikarpoor, a portion of that commerce will be diverted to the banks of the Indus. This is illustrated by a striking instance of the effects already produced in Cabool from the interest which the British Government has now exhibited in the encouragement of trade.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 18 January 1838.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO

No. 1.

LIST of Articles, mostly Russian, found in the Bazar of Cabool, and brought to it from Bokhara.

No.	No.
1. Ducats, tillas, Somsand yamoos.*	19. Kimson, a kind of leather.
2. Gold dust.*	20. Kirmiz, or cochineal.*
3. Pistols and muskets.	21. Blue-stone, or sulphate of copper.
4. Gunlocks.	22. Iron trays.
5. Padlocks.	23. Kulabritoon, two kinds.*
6. Knives, razors.	24. Simgot.*
7. Wires of iron and brass.	25. Broad cloth.
8. Copper.*	26. Chintz.
9. Russian boxes, snuff boxes.	27. Velvet.
10. Needles.	28. Atlas (satin).
11. Glass, spectacles, mirrors.	29. Khooft-laft.
12. Porcelain.	30. Shirja.
13. Flints.	31. Kaitan, or muslin.
14. Beads and coral.*	32. Nanka.*
15. Fish-bone.*	33. White cloth.
16. Paper.	34. Handkerchiefs (silken).
17. Tea.	35. Chuppuni kard.
18. Sabel misree.	36. Silk of Bokhara and Koondooz.*

Note.—The articles marked thus * are passed on to India along with the productions of Cabool, given in List No. 3.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

LIST of European and Indian Articles to Cabool.

No.	No.
1. Jamdane.*	34. Badal Khance and Hájiani.
2. Muslin.	35. Loongee of Multan.
3. Book muslins.*	36. Embroidered cloth, ditto.
4. Alwan gulnar.	37. Khess - - - ditto.
5. Velvet.	38. Tamur Shah mixture of silk and thread.
6. Abrah.	39. Shuja Khance ditto - - ditto.
7. Jali.*	40. Hindi, or Dareyái.
8. Chintz of various kinds.*	41. Haider Shah white cloth.
9. Unwashed chintz, ditto.	42. Adarsah - ditto.
10. Dupatta scarf.*	43. Khasah Bahar.
11. Broad cloth.	44. Coarse cloth.
12. Mouini.*	45. White of Punjab, different sorts.
13. Long cloth.*	46. Chintz of Joonaghur.*
14. Cambric.	47. Khess of Vazirabad.
15. Dimity.	48. Soosee - ditto.
16. Shawls.*	49. Indigo.
17. Handkerchiefs.	50. Multan and Delhi, &c., shoes.
18. Lata, a kind of silk cloth.	51. Looking-glass.
19. English porcelain from Delhi.	52. Razor and scissors.
20. Ditto razors and scissors.	53. Bracelets of glass from Bombay.
21. Ditto needles.	54. Shields.
22. Ditto gunlocks.	55. Post sgláhira, kind of fur, from Derah.
23. Ditto beads.	56. Cornelian.
24. Ditto spyglass.	57. Ishgár, or sajjí, from Derah.
25. Ditto spectacles.	58. Swords.
26. Brocade of Banaras,* Indian goods.	59. Ditto hilts.
27. Chintz of Furrakabad.	60. Bags of blankets from Haidree.
28. Buttah of Raw and	61. Cocoa-nuts.
29. Carpets of Umlala.	62. Ivory.
30. Soosee muttanee of various kinds.	63. Mina.
31. Dhotar ditto.	64. Spices, pepper, cloves, cinnamon, cardamoms, &c.
32. Chintz on Nusseerkhance.	
33. Chintz of Hot.	

Note.—The articles marked thus * are in part passed on from Cabool to Bokhara.

No. 3.

LIST of the Productions, &c., of Afghanistan sent into India.

No.	No.
1. Madder.	7. Wool and Doonla sheep.
2. Assafœtida.	8. Silk, raw.
3. Dried and fresh fruits.	9. Lead, sulphur, zak or zinc.
4. Kussoomba dye.	10. Horses and ponies.
5. Drugs.	11. Bactrian camels.
6. Tobacco and snuff.	

Note.—Those articles which pass in transit from Russia and Bokhara to India are stated in List No. 1.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain *Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

[I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches of the dates noted in the margin.* The contents of these documents are of much importance, and have received his Lordship's immediate and most attentive consideration.

2. The points in them which are of prominent interest, are the arrival of a Russian agent with letters to Dost Mahomed Khan, from the Emperor of Russia and the Russian Minister at Tehran, with the proceedings of the Ameer and yourself in reference to that officer, and the tenor of the verbal communications which he has been reported to you to have made at an interview with the Ameer; the near advance of the Persian army upon Herat, the proceedings of the chiefs of Candahar, in having in the first instance apparently united their interests with those of Persia, but having eventually dismissed the Persian envoy, Kumber Ali Khan, without the son of the principal chief, Kohun Dil Khan, who had been intended to accompany him; your having previously to the receipt of the intelligence last adverted to, taken on yourself (although you were wholly without authority to hold out any such expectations), the very grave responsibility of promising to the Candahar Chiefs your own presence with their troops, and pecuniary aid from your Government, in the event of the capture of Herat by the Persians and the march of the Persian army towards Candahar; your views, which from all report and observation, his Lordship cannot but consider to be much exaggerated, of the resources and strength of the Government of Dost Mahomed Khan in Cabool; and lastly, the suggestions offered by you as to its being the proper policy of the British Government in the present state of things, to press on an immediate adjustment of the questions open on the Peshawur frontier, to confirm its influence, and form a combination among the different Afghan states, and to aid Cabool or Candahar, with pecuniary grants for the defence of their territory, and the consolidation or extension of their power.

3. After weighing with all the seriousness which the subject demands, the various arguments adduced in your letters, his Lordship directs me to state that he adheres without reserve to the principles of policy by which his proceedings in respect to Afghanistan have heretofore been guided. He must dissent, consequently, from many of the recommendations which you have now submitted to him.

4. It was the essential character of that policy, through the means of friendly persuasion, and the exercise (where there might be favourable opportunity) of our good offices, for the maintenance of peace, to remove those causes of dissension and excitement which had had such injurious effect in facilitating the introduction

* Letter dated 25 November 1837; 3 December 1837: 4 December 1837, two letters; 5 December 1837; 6 December 1837; 8 December 1837; 20 December 1837; 21 December 1837; 22 December, two letters; 23 December, confidential, addressed to the Governor General.

duction of Persian intrigue and interference into Afghanistan. To the degree in which the inducements to court Persian alliance might be diminished, and the general tranquillity promoted, there would to the same degree be advantage to the British Government in the absence of agitation from its frontier, and in the increased encouragement of commerce. There was no hazard of embarrassing entanglements in this policy, for our measures were to be limited to gradually influencing the proceedings of the several states by their own sense of their real and mutual interest, and to the tenders of a friendly mediation. It was our object also to mark our wish for the maintenance, in their actual position of all the chiefs of Afghanistan, as being the most just course of proceeding in itself, and as the existing decision of power among them is felt to be, upon the whole, decidedly the most beneficial for British interests.

5. This policy it was understood could only be partially effective, and it was to be applied in all cases with an especial caution; yet with time and management an useful influence would, it was reasonable to expect, be established in countries the condition of which must always be a matter of concern to the Government of India.

6. Positive engagements to assist opposition to actual invasion from the westward, by arms or subsidies, have not been contemplated by his Lordship. He is not insensible to the evils of such invasion, and he could not and does not seek to anticipate what, under possible, but he trusts very improbable, emergencies, his course of action might be; but measures of such direct interference are in his judgment liable to the most grave general objections. Not to speak of the exceeding inconvenience of political engagements at a distance so great from our resources, those measures might raise questions of serious national difficulty, which ought, if possible, to be reserved for the unfettered consideration of the Government in England; and those questions are of the greater delicacy with reference to the provisions of the treaties still subsisting between the British and Persian Governments.

7. It has been unfortunate that in the course of events, time has not been afforded for the due development of the policy which his Lordship had laid down for himself. The Persian expedition against Herat has been pushed on, as far as his Lordship's information extends, with unexpected rapidity, and some success; and there is at least a chance of the existing political condition of Afghanistan being seriously disturbed; but his Lordship sees nothing in any facts yet reported to him to induce him to run into the dangers of such embarrassment as would attend the course which you have pressed upon him. It is well to ward off intrigue from our frontier, if it can properly be effected; but our main reliance in any more serious difficulties must be upon our own direct power to be exercised upon the field most favourable to us.

8. Applying these principles to the circumstances on which instructions are at present required, his Lordship directs me to state that he would persevere steadily in the course of proceedings which has been already prescribed in respect to Dost Mahomed Khan; and he is satisfied, that unless an entire change take place in the political constitution of Afghanistan, that course ought to be readily successful.

9. Dost Mahomed Khan is now essentially dependent upon our good offices for the removal of his apprehensions from the Sikh power. You state, indeed, that he need not fear the effects of an invasion by the Maha Raja Runjeet Singh; but his own applications to every quarter open to him for succour against this danger manifest the alarm which he himself entertains; and his Lordship thinks that there is no room for doubt, that although it might be hazardous and unprofitable to the Maha Raja to seek to retain possession of a country so difficult, yet in the immense resources at his command, in his wealthy treasury, and numerous and disciplined army, and with so much of weakness and distraction in the Cabool territory, he has the means of over-running it, when he may determine to make the effort, and of consummating at least the ruin of its present ruler. You ought to proceed, in all your intercourse with Dost Mahomed Khan, on this understanding, that the boon which he obtains in consequence of our interest in his favour is no less than safety from the probable destruction of his authority; and representations of the danger which he would incur ought to be made stronger, if dissatisfied with such mediation as we are willing to tender, Dost Mahomed Khan should attempt to form any other political connexions through Persian or Russian agents; for our interposition would then, of course, be wholly withdrawn; Dost

Mahomed

Mahomed Khan would place himself towards us in the position of a person court- ing hostile alliances, and what he might have to dread would not be an invasion only by the Sikhs, but such an invasion undertaken under all the influence of our declared displeasure with and alienation from him.

10. You state with perfect truth that the hazardous position of this chief compels him to dissipate his resources in defensive preparations, which cripple his power and augment the discontent of his followers, whom his revenues at no time admit of his liberally rewarding; and that his best hope of real strength rests on being at peace with his eastern neighbour, which would enable him to reduce his undue expenditure, and improve his internal administration. It is this peaceful and steadfast policy which, along with a true sense of his position, ought to be always impressed upon him as marking the only course which his Lordship considers that he can wisely pursue.

11. It has been already intimated to you in different Despatches, and especially in that under date the 27th ultimo, that the inordinate pretensions and expectations which Dost Mahomed Khan has appeared disposed to form in consequence of your presence at Cabool, ought to be decisively discouraged. He should be made sensible, that in stepping forward, from our conviction of the course of proceeding the most advantageous to all the powers on this side of the Indus, to endeavour to induce Maha Raja Runjeet Singh to refrain from prosecuting further hostilities against him, we have made the utmost demand which our interest and long-established friendship admit, upon the consideration which that powerful chief is willing to show to our wishes. In the words of the Despatch of the 27th December, his Lordship would repeat, that "in the precarious position in which Dost Mahomed is placed, our good offices for the peace and security of his remaining territory should be thankfully accepted by him."

12. His scheme of obtaining possession, on any terms, of the Peshawur territory for himself marks, to his Lordship's mind, the ambitious and restless views with which he is disposed to use our assistance. That scheme has never been proposed to Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, from a feeling that it would not for a moment be entertained by him. If he would ever consent to relinquish Peshawur to other hands, the brothers by whom it was formerly ruled have the strongest claims upon him. You say that Dost Mahomed Khan might "perhaps in the end be satisfied with the plain of Peshawur being given to any Barukzye;" but I am desirous to remind you that his Lordship has always treated this as a question wholly to be decided by the Maha Raja himself. It would be gratifying if he would resolve to restore Peshawur to the immediate government of the members of the family by whom it was previously held; but Dost Mahomed Khan must make his overtures of peace, without insisting on the fulfilment of any such expectation.

13. It would be becoming, in the position in which the Chief of Cabool is placed, to seek in the first instance to appease the feelings of the powerful sovereign whom he has offended, by such demonstrations of a desire to court the renewal of amicable terms with him as may be consistent with a fair and reasonable regard to his own remaining rights; and you and he ought to feel that until this peace between him and the Sikhs shall have been established on the firmest basis, every scheme for the aggrandisement of Dost Mahomed, such as those which you seem to favour, even if not otherwise liable to manifold and insurmountable objections, would have the effect of accumulating means of offence against the more ancient, the more powerful, and the more faithful ally of the British Government.

14. His Lordship would under any circumstances be glad that, at a proper opportunity, these views should be stated with all frankness to Dost Mahomed Khan, for he greatly fears from the tenor of your late Despatches that he may have been led to take an erroneous view of our own situation, and of his Lordship's views; and it is of all things most important to act towards him with a clear, good faith, and whatever may be his own trust in his independent means of defence, the British Government can deal with him on no other understanding. It may be the more necessary to make this statement if the Ameer should be disposed, as the alternative to our compliance with all his requests, to bring forward any idea of a political connexion with Russia through the agent, who has, it appears, arrived at Cabool.]

15. His Lordship attaches little immediate importance to this mission of the Russian agent although he will bring all the circumstances connected with it to the

the notice of the Home Authorities, as it undoubtedly marks a desire which has long been known to exist on the part of the Russian Government, to push at least the influence, of their name to our Indian frontier; and the proceedings, especially of the Russian Envoy at Tehran, in regard to it, are open to much observation. [It would be satisfactory if you could obtain and forward the original communications from Count Simonitch, for transmission to England, or at least that you should see and be able to certify them.]

16. His Lordship is much gratified at the deference to our views shown by Dost Mahomed Khan, in requesting your advice as to the reception of this agent, and he entirely approves your having sanctioned his being admitted to the presence of the Ameer, and treated with becoming civility. If he be not already gone from Cabool, you will suggest to the Ameer that he be dismissed with courtesy, with a letter of compliments and thanks to the Emperor of Russia for his proffered kindness to Cabool traders. His mission should be assumed to have been, as represented, entirely for commercial objects, and no notice need be taken of the messages with which he may profess to have been charged.

17. This course will be recommended by you in the event of the Ameer being firmly disposed to abide by our good offices. If he should, on the other hand, seek to retain the agent, and to enter into any description of political intercourse with him, you will give him distinctly to understand that your Mission will retire, that our good offices with the Sikhs will wholly cease, and that, indeed, the act will be considered as a direct breach of friendship with the British Government. It has been before; at different times, stated to you that the continuance of our good offices must be entirely dependent on the relinquishment, by the Ameer, of alliances with any power to the westward.

[18. His Lordship, although anxious, as has been mentioned, to act towards the Ameer with all frankness, would not press upon him with undue harshness (such as might be implied by the formal delivery to him of the accompanying explicit announcement from the Governor General) the views which have been explained with regard to the position which he holds, in the opinion of the British Government, relatively to Runjeet Singh. If, however, from the state of things at Herat, from his position in regard to this Russian agent, or from any other cause, he should ask for an explicit statement of our sentiments and intentions, it will be right that that statement should be given to him; and in that event, or when it may, otherwise, from any motive (such as the paramount one for our honour, of removing existing misunderstandings) appear to you advisable, you will deliver to him the letter referred to; and you will always, whether the letter be delivered or not, be most sedulously careful to conform in every case to the spirit of these, as of your preceding instructions, and to refrain from encouraging any expectations for which you have not full authority. A copy of the letter of the Governor General, with the English version of it, are forwarded for your information.

19. Should the Ameer prefer to incur all the hazards of his position, rather than to accept our good offices upon the only terms which seem to us just in regard to Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, your Mission will in that case also solicit its dismissal, and retire upon Peshawur. But his Lordship trusts that Dost Mahomed Khan will judge better for his own interest than to compel you to that proceeding.

20. It is with great pain that his Lordship must next proceed to advert to the subject of the promises which you have held out to the Chiefs of Candahar.

21. These promises were, as has been said, entirely unauthorised by any part of your instructions. They are most unnecessarily made in unqualified terms; and they would, if supported, commit the Government upon the gravest questions of general policy. His Lordship is compelled, therefore, decidedly to disapprove them.

22. He is only withheld from a direct disavowal of these engagements to the Chiefs of Candahar, because such disavowal would carry with it the declaration of a difference between you and your Government, and might weaken your personal influence, and because events might in this interval have occurred which would render such a course unnecessary. But the rulers of Candahar must not be allowed to rest in confidence upon promises so given; and, should affairs continue in the same uncertainty as that which prevailed at the date of your last Despatches, you will endeavour to set yourself right with the Chiefs, and will feel yourself bound

bound in good faith to admit that you have exceeded your instructions, and held out hopes which you find, upon communication with your Government, cannot be realised.

23. After what has been stated, his Lordship feels that he need not enlarge on his strict injunction that you in future conform punctually in all points to the orders issued for your guidance.

24. While it has been his duty to record these sentiments upon one part of your proceedings, his Lordship directs me at the same time to express to you his cordial approbation of the diligence and ability with which you have applied yourself to collect and lay perspicuously before him, the full and interesting information which you have transmitted on the subject of the state of affairs in the States of Central Asia generally. You will continue to cultivate your friendly correspondence with Bokhara and Koondooz. The tenor of your reply, reported in your Despatch of the 25th November, to the letter of Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, is entirely approved; your letter was correctly forwarded by Lieutenant Mackeson, to be delivered through Captain Wade.]

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

Camp at Bareilly,
20 January 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

IN my communications of the 20th, 22d, and 30th ultimo, I reported, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, the arrival of an agent of the Russian Government at this city, and all the information which I had collected regarding him, together with the opinions entertained of it.

2. Though a month and upwards have elapsed since Mr. Vickovich reached Cabool, and my suspicions were from the first excited regarding his real character, I have been unable to discover anything to invalidate the credentials which he brought, or to cast a doubt on his being other than he gives himself out, and this too after much vigilance and inquiry.

3. The first suspicious circumstance which occurred to me was the circuitous route by which he had arrived in Cabool, when he might have passed with such ease by Bokhara and Toorkistan to Cabool, a much nearer road, and one with which Mr. Vickovich himself is in part familiar. It is, however, to be observed in the Ameer's letter to the Emperor of Russia, that he seeks for an alliance such as Persia is favoured with, and it was but natural for the Russian Government to secure, in addition to letters from itself, an introduction from the Shah of Persia, which Mr. Vickovich brought along with him.

4. It next occurred to me that the Persians, in seeking to advance their objects in Afghanistan, had recourse to the expedient of getting up a Russian agent to despatch into this country, for it is quite evident from various conversations that I have had with well-informed individuals, that Persia herself, and all her friends here, attribute the disconcertment of their plans to the presence of a British Mission in Cabool. This view of the case, however, if correct, would seriously commit the Shah of Persia, and prove his being a party concerned, for there is no doubt entertained of his Majesty's "rakeem" being a genuine one, and the people of his country are of course much better judges of the authenticity of a letter from an eastern than an European ruler.

5. Mr. Vickovich himself has experienced but little attention from the Ameer, and as yet received no reply to his communications. He has been accommodated in a part of a house belonging to Mirza Sumee Khan, and is entertained at the public expense. He paid his respects to the Ameer on the 12th of January, or on New Year's day, old style, and has had no other personal intercourse with him. He has been urging the Ameer to send some agent to Count Simonitch to receive the presents of the Emperor.

No. 1.

6. One circumstance which throws a little light on what is passing is exhibited in the annexed letter. It is a note from one of the agents of the Chief at Candahar to Mr. Vickovich, under the travelling name of Omar Khan, which Mr. Vickovich himself told me he had adopted since entering Afghanistan; the note was brought by one of my own messengers, and as he was unauthorisedly made the bearer of it, I took the liberty of detaining it, and seeing its contents. He seems at all events to have established a channel of communication at Candahar.

7. In the absence of any immediate and apparent cause for an interference on the part of Russia in the affairs of this country (for I cannot believe she contemplates the invasion of it), explanation may be perhaps sought in what is passing in Europe and Persia. The British Government have done all in their power, and have further been aided by France, to check the growth of Russian supremacy in Greece, Constantinople, and Tabrez, and in all of which they have succeeded. In Persia, also, the zealous ability of our Ambassador has prevented the influence of Russia being so paramount as she could desire, though it is much more paramount than could be wished. We may naturally, therefore, infer that Russia, by her simultaneous appearance in this new field, hopes to embarrass our measures and excite distrust and suspicion of them. I venture to record these opinions with great deference, and though they may prove of small value, I do not withhold them, as they may perhaps furnish a guide to solve the Russian intrigues now carrying on in Afghanistan.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 22 January 1838.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Nuzur Mohamed Khan to the address of Mohamed Omar Khan (i. e. Mr. Vickovich), Russian Agent, Elchee at Cabool.

A. C.

It is a long time since you have gone to Cabool, and you have never let me know about your welfare, the cause of which I trust will be satisfactory.

I beg you will give me an account of your transactions at Cabool at full length.

If you have any business or object to be accomplished in this place, write to me freely, and it will be done according to your satisfaction.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

I do myself the honour to append, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, three letters explaining the progress made by the Persians in their attack on Herat. The intelligence is much more favourable than what I transmitted on the 11th instant, and Kamran and his people seem to be making a gallant defence. The retreat of Sher Mohamed Khan Huzara beyond the Moorghab serves to explain the consternation in Toorkistan reported by Mr. Lord, but the effect of it would appear to have been advantageous to Herat, since it has detached

detached a body of Persians, who confess their roads to be cut off in all directions but Meshid.

2. The communication, No. 3, is a letter from Yar Mahomed Khan, the Vezier of Herat, to the Chief of Candahar, the original of which has been shown to me. From the document, which must be considered very authentic, the minister must be dispirited, for there is a blood feud between Herat and Candahar, and he still implores assistance. I am, however, disposed to believe that the sole object of the communication was to prevent the Candahar Sirdars joining Persia, of which Kamran is in more dread than of the Persians themselves. There is now no fear of this contingency, as appears in my letter of yesterday's date.

3. There is yet another letter in Cabool stating that Kamran had written to his Soonee neighbours on the north to quicken their movements, or he would be compelled to accept the offers of the Feringees (Europeans) to adjust his differences with Persia. The belief consequent on this letter is, that it is Russian good offices he is to receive, but from what passed at Tehran, I infer that it is a mediation tendered by the British Government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 22 January 1838.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Herat, from Bikload Khan Barukezye, to the address of Sirdar Kohur Dil Khan, Chief of Candahar, dated 27th Ramzan, and received at Cabool on the 16th January 1838, 22 days old.

A. C.

You had despatched Meer Huzar Khan, a man of Sirdar Rahim Dil Khan, to pick up some information of Herat, which I write to you myself.

The Persian army is computed at 40,000 men, out of which there are 15,000 cavalry; the troops of Kamran only amount to 15,000; 10,000 Doorance, and 5,000 of different tribes, and the battle is every day between them. Two gates of the city are opened, and the others blocked up. We caught 1,000 camels of the Persians loaded with provisions and gunpowder, which we threw in the water. We attack their batteries every day, and bring in their mules, ponies, &c., as booty. The Persians are very much distressed.

The Hazarabs are on the river of Pala Moorghab, and say they are coming to assist us, but none of them have as yet shown themselves.

Six thousand troops of the Tymunees are come to Obek to assist us, but Shumsooddeen Khan with 10,000 Persian cavalry, went to check their progress; on this Yar Mahomed Khan, with 2,000 good horsemen, went out and overtook Shumsooddeen. They fought, and many fell on both sides. He and Yar Mahomed came back to Herat. The Tymunees are yet at Obek.

The 20,000 families of the Afghans who occupy the country of Herat have their eyes towards you, but it is a great misfortune that you do not move from your place; if you come as far as Furrah nobody will oppose you, and the gates will be opened to you.

There are 60 families of the relatives and servants prisoners at Ghorian with Sher Mahomed and Mahomed Halim Khan. Ghorian has been given to the Chief of Cayan. The Persians procured two lacs rupees in cash, and much corn, &c., at Ghorian.

Three sons of Kamran are at Furrah and one in Isfeyar; Kamran has sent to them a message with Ibrahim, that they should go and meet you (the Sirdars) at Bukwa, if you come from Candahar, and also go to Gurzung, for it is impossible for us to oppose the enemy in two forts and be besieged in two places.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alexander Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan to the Ameer of Cabool, received 15 January 1838.

YESTERDAY the 9th of Shavul, 18 days ago, Syud Tak Khan came from Herat, and gave the following particulars.

The Persians have dried up the water of the ditch of Herat, then filled it with wood, &c. to enable them to ascend the walls. When the citizens saw this, they burned some oiled cloth and threw it on the wood in the ditch, which was reduced to ashes. The endeavours of the Persians to fill up the ditch were useless. After this the Persian camp was attacked every night; on the first, the people of Herat killed about 40 or 50 Persians, and brought a booty of 60 matchlocks; on the second, 10 matchlocks, and they massacred 15 soldiers. The third night

the expedition was undertaken by the son of Kurnal Alokezye, who was at the head of 100 men; he killed many Persians, and brought with him one of the guns, which he threw in the ditch. The people of Herat attacked the Persian camp for eight successive nights, and dammed up the cut in the ditch to fill it with water again. The citizens were quite hopeless for 12 days, but have now regained their spirits. Some Persians are every day taken prisoners.

Intelligence was brought to Yar Mahomed Khan at Herat, that the provisions are coming from Meshid to the Persian camp. On this he sent 600 horsemen, who intercepted the provisions, and took 100 Persians prisoners, besides those they killed in opposition. The victorious Afghans possessed 500 camels along with 100 ponies loaded with ammunition, burnt the gunpowder, and threw away the lead. After this they came back to Herat.

Sher Mahomed Khan Hazarah bravely opposed the Persians who went to fight with him in his country. He left his fort or killah now, and crossed the river Moorghab; the Persians followed him, and after a halt of eight days on the bank, forded the river to overtake Sher Mahomed Khan. After being joined by the people of Maimumee he opposed the Persians, and harassed them very much. The Persians have written to Mahomed Shah about their sad condition, and asked him to give them leave to go to Meshid, otherwise they will all lose their lives.

Shumsooddeen Khan, who had lately gone over to the Persians, deceived the Syuds, who were opposing the Persians in the fort called Nujufee. They came out of the fort. He imprisoned 40 Syuds and then advanced to Shuffan to bring the provisions. The head men of Tymumee tribe, who were coming to assist Kamran, met him, and a battle ensued between them; they killed 10 of his men and took back 100 mules to Herat.

Sher Mohamed Khan along with Mahomed Halim is a prisoner in the Persian camp, and their families are still at Ghorian.

(True extract.)

(signed)

Alexander Burnes.

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mohamed Khan, the Vezier of Kamran, to the address of the Candahar Chiefs.

A. C.

IN religious transactions, it is incumbent on the faithful to forget internal animosities, and annihilate the enemies of Islam. Now the enemies of true religion, as well as of the honour of all Mussulmans, hoping to injure the believers of Mahomed, have come to conquer Herat. It is reported that this enemy will not be satisfied by possessing Herat and ruining us, but as he knows Herat to be the foundation and key, he has therefore first resolved to snatch it from our hands. God forbid that these infidels (Persian) should become the masters of Herat, if so, it is to be feared that they will cause the destruction of all these countries of Islam. Besides this, all the Dooranee nation is connected with Herat, and the time is come that we should put away internal differences, unite, and boldly drive the enemy from the country, and not destroy ourselves by disunion.

You should imitate the Shah of Bhokara and Khorasan, the people of Toorkistan and the Toorkmans who are coming to gain the honour of martyrdom. Before their arrival it would be advisable that all the religious brothers should unite, the number of 30 or 40,000 people, and drown themselves in the blood of the enemy.

By the grace of God, and the activity of the champions of faith, it is hoped that the enemy will not be able to take Herat, but it was incumbent on me to inform you of this critical event, and I have sent with this letter the respectable Gufoor Khan and Syud Aga, to explain to you fully, that you may not blame me hereafter. It depends on your own pleasure to come or not, for every thing will happen according to the decrees of God.

I beg you to behave in such a manner as not to lose the country of the Dooranees, or I should not write to you this. Come quickly and save the honour of the nation.

(True translation.)

(signed)

Alexander Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed)

H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE now the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, a reply to my last communication to the Chiefs of Candahar, and a further illustration of the hopes and fears of these personages, as explained in a letter from Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan to his brother the Ameer.

Nos. 1 and 2.

2. These communications will be viewed as satisfactory since they both exhibit a further change for the better in the minds of the Candahar Sirdars. They have fully seen the futility of the treaty tendered to them by the Persian elchee, and their last communication with the Shah regarding Ghorian bears no other construction than a wish to avert the evils of too precipitate a break with his Majesty, who, of course, would never surrender Ghorian to the Chiefs of Candahar, and which will, I trust, for ever terminate their intercourse with Persia. It will also be seen that they no longer expect the security of the English Ambassador (well knowing that would not be granted), and that they ask only that of Russia; this is the flaw which I pointed out in their first treaty.

3. There is also no chance of its being necessary to aid the Chiefs of Candahar in resisting Persia, for they will receive through Mr. Leech a clear explanation of our policy, and have, as I hope, the good sense to remain quiet. By my last accounts Mr. Leech was close on Candahar, and his approach had given great satisfaction. The anxiety to meet an agent of the British Government is again forcibly depicted in the letter of Mihr Dil Khan to the Ameer; and from the tender of our pecuniary aid, we may claim their gratitude, and consequent yielding to our wishes.

4. I would also draw particular attention to the contents of the letter from Mihr Dil Khan to the Ameer, which has had the effect of renewing the intercourse between the families at Cabool and Candahar, and naturally given high satisfaction to Dost Mahummud Khan, since he has brought over his brothers to his own view of the case, and the bad policy of turning to Persia so long as a hope exists from the British Government in India. As far as Persia is concerned, and the increase of our influence here, this intelligence is most favourable.

No. 1.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alexander Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 21 January 1838.

No 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan, of Candahar, to the address of the Ameer of Cabool, received 15 January 1838.

A. C.

YOUR kind letter has reached me, and I was delighted to read it. You wrote to me that nothing has been yet settled with Mr. Burnes, and you will not fail to inform us of the settlement which may take place hereafter. You further told me that it is an important time, and requires great deliberation to weigh the matters, and that I should also come to consult with you on the subject. On the arrangement which you may make with Mr. Burnes, I beg to say, that you have more ability to carry through the business than any other man, and nobody can make objections to the arrangements you may make with him about the welfare of the Afghan Government. Believe me that I will never fail to keep well with you, and do every service to satisfy you as long as I live. We have not sent Mohamed Omar Khan to the Shah in company with Kumber Ali Khan, for all the arrangements he had made with us have proved false. He told us that the Shah would not move from Tehran until he supplied us with troops and money to take Herat, which we were to keep in our possession. Now the Shah has taken Ghorian, and besieged the city of Herat in person, which is all contrary to the articles of the treaty made with Kumber Ali Khan.

We have desired Kumber Ali Khan, without his baggage, to proceed to Mahomed Shah, and sent Ali Dad Khan Bux Doorane along with him on our part. We have sent a message to the Shah, that his Majesty has thoroughly contradicted the arrangements which his agent, Kumber Ali, had made with us, and that if his Majesty is still desirous to keep up friendship with us, he should deliver Ghorian in our possession, leave troops and money in our charge, the Russian agent at Herat being the security for all this, and go back himself to Meshid. If all this is done, the Sirdars will proceed to take Herat, and thence send Mohamed Omar Khan to his Majesty.

1—Sess. 2.

P 4

Kumber

Kumber Ali Khan has promised to send an answer to the above message during the course of a month, out of which there are eight days more remaining. I will let you know if any fresh intelligence comes here.

I beg you will inform me of what arrangements you have made with Mr. Burnes; in case nothing is yet done, then there is no necessity for any of us coming to Cabool as you write.

The respectable Kohin Dil has asked Mr. Burnes to come himself, or send any of the officers with him to Candahar, that we may learn each other's object; it will be no harm if you endeavour to induce Mr. Burnes to do so.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Sirdars of Candahar, Kohin Dil, Rahim Dil, and Mihr Dil Khan, Chiefs of Candahar, to the address of Captain Burnes, received at Cabool, 16 January 1838.

A. C.

WE have received your kind letter with pleasure, and understood its contents.

You have written to us about sending Mohomed Omar Khan to Mohomed Shah, told us that the Afghans and Persians have never been friends, and the British Government is the well-wisher of the Afghans, and would furnish means to keep off the enemy (Kajars) from Afghanistan; that you with the Ameer would also come here in case the Kajars take Herat, and advance on Candahar, which will be beneficial to us; and in that case I should consider myself attached to the English Government. In reply, we have the pleasure to write to you as follows.

Our object in sending Mohomed Omar Khan to Persia, was to keep off Mahomed Shah, to ruin Kamran, and to make ourselves the masters of Herat; it was not from fear that his Majesty would invade Candahar. I have now postponed the departure of Mohomed Omar Khan, hoping that evil will befall Kamran.

There are many things which we cannot write in this letter, they depend on an interview with you.

I trust that the English Government, and also yourself, are the well-wisher of the Afghans, and wish good to our family; but we have not yet come to know each other's object as they ought to be. If you have leisure come yourself, or send one of your trusty men to this quarter, and we shall speak minutely on the matter.

If your Government will do us the offices, according to our station, then we will consider ourselves attached to the welfare of the British Government.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

[I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 25th of November and 2d of December last, which reached me about the same time, and conveyed the views of the Right Honourable the Governor General] regarding the overtures made by Dost Mahomed Khan for adjusting his differences with the Sikhs, and the apprehension that the Maharaja would not be disposed to surrender Peshawur on those terms, but be more likely to restore it to Sooltan Mohomed Khan, its former governor. I lost no time in making known these circumstances [as well as the sentiments of his Lordship on them], and the policy which it would be advisable for the ruler of Cabool to pursue.

2. After listening with considerable attention to what I impressed upon him, the Ameer proceeded to make his own comments on what was recommended. He said that he felt satisfied that the British Government was actuated by the most pure and upright motives in making known its sympathy with the sufferings
of

of the Afghan nation, and that, in seeking to apply some remedy to them, it only followed the generous course for which it was celebrated throughout Asia; that there were, however, obstacles and objections to what had been recommended, which [the Government of India might not know, and which] it behoved him to unfold [for its deliberation] before any adjustment of differences, on such terms, was carried into effect.

3. "In offering to render tribute, horses, and apology to Runjeet Sing, and to hold Peshawur under him," continued he, "I was actuated by no motive of hostility to Sooltan Mohomed Khan; he is my brother, and though we have differed, the rancour is on his side, and not on mine. I stated that I would secure to him and his brothers the jagheers they enjoy, and this, with what would have to be paid, would not have rendered it a very profitable appendage to my power; but these were precautionary measures to secure myself in Cabool and prevent injury befalling me. Of Runjeet Sing's power to invade me in Cabool I have little fear; of his power to injure me if he reinstates Sooltan Mahomed Khan in the government of that city, I have great apprehension, for in it I see a Mohomedan ruler instead of a Sikh; and had the Maharaja been more conversant with the politics of Afghanistan, and bent on my destruction, he might have, ere this, succeeded, had he not displaced Sooltan Mohomed Khan from Peshawur, and supplied him with funds to corrupt those about me who are inimical, and envy the rise to my present elevation."

4. "At the present time many of the chiefs who belong to Peshawur and their retainers are subsisted by me. They have fled from their country on its invasion by the enemies of our religion, and on my brother becoming a servant to them. It cannot be supposed, with my limited revenues, that I can either give to these persons what they are entitled to or what they received in their own country; but, at this moment, I expend about 90,000 rupees annually in giving them bread. When Peshawur is restored these individuals will, of course, leave me; and, along with them, will proceed every one who may take offence at his merits not being appreciated as he considers they deserve; and thus, instead of being freed from enemies, I shall be lowered among my countrymen far below my present situation, and far from being free from danger, as at present, have that situation most certainly endangered. I think, therefore, that I see in the contemplated plans for altering the arrangement for governing Peshawur a rectification of the errors of the ruler of Lahore, and that his designs are sinister, and his object to draw the British Government unawares into them."

5. "In the friendly expression of the feelings entertained towards the Afghans by the British Government, I see clearly that it would not permit itself to be made a party to my destruction. If you are not disposed to strengthen my hands, and raise me above the rank which I at present enjoy, it cannot be your intention, with offers of sympathy, to bring about my ruin. On that point I am at ease; but in separating us all one from other, in seeking to keep the chiefs from being dependent on one another, you are certainly neutralising the power of the Afghan nation, and sowing the seeds of future dissension. Your object is to prevent harm; you will also prevent good; you will secure to yourselves the gratitude of Peshawur, of the Euzoofzyes, the Khuttuks, and the tribes near the Indus; but as for myself, you open a new door of intrigue against me, and, as you saw injury likely to accrue from the Chief of Candahar entering on an alliance with Persia, I see injury to myself in Sooltan Mahomed Khan, when restored to his chiefship of Peshawar, being in alliance with Lahore; and above all, what security am I to have that the chiefs of Peshawur and Candahar will not join to injure me, and be aided in their designs by Maharaja Runjeet Sing?"

6. To these arguments I opposed the views of the British Government, and said that it would ill tally with its wishes to find new causes of quarrel arise consequent on an adjustment of the differences between the Sikhs and Afghans; that as the Ameer had renounced his connexion with Persia, we had, in return, hoped to do him a good office by entering into a negotiation with Runjeet Sing, on the differences existing between them; but that if he was thoroughly sincere in his belief that the restoration of Peshawur to Sooltan Mahomed Khan was positively injurious to him, it was proper to state most decidedly that we had no such design, and would be a party to no measures of such a tendency. I then pointed out the various advantages which must arise from the Sikhs withdrawing themselves to the other side of the Indus, and I dwelt upon the increase of reputation which must follow to himself, on his having contributed by his determined

opposition to the release of his brothers, their wives and their children from the hands of the Sikhs; to have once more in possession of the family the burying place of its ancestors, and to hear again, in a country inhabited by Mahomedans, the summons to prayer (izan), and secure the permission to follow the usages of Islam, and their mosques from defilement and spoliation.

7. Giving every weight to what had been urged, I proceeded to lay before him (the Ameer) the positive advantages derivable from an altered state of things in Peshawur. The number of troops entertained by you will become unnecessary; your increased exactions from the merchant and the cultivators will cease, because war with the Sikhs will no longer engage your attention; decrease of expense will be tantamount to increase of revenue, your resources will be improved, your power concentrated and strengthened; and as to the charge brought forward of our raising up many chiefs in Afghanistan, he was to recollect that those chiefs were his brothers, that Candahar, Cabool, and Peshawur would thus be in the possession of one family, the sons of one father, who had a common interest against the enemies of their house, and whose family differences, whatever they were, might be made to disappear when they ceased to be threatened by a powerful ruler like Maharaja Runjeet Sing; that as to the neutralisation of the Afghan nation of which he complained, it was certainly no part of the policy of the British Government to injure any of the present holders of power in this country more than himself, and that we looked to the general good of all parties; that the Ameer no doubt understood better than we did what injured and what availed him, but it appeared to me that he had too exaggerated a view of Runjeet Sing's designs; and that it would certainly be taken into the Governor General's consideration, if this subject proceeded further, how far he should receive security against the plans of Lahore to be compassed by means of his brother in Peshawur, and also the nature of the counteraction which would be used to prevent his brothers at Peshawur and Candahar combining to do him injury.]

8. To this Dost Mahomed Khan replied, that there were no doubt many advantages in prospect, and that the arguments adduced had both foundation and solidity, but that the advantages were chiefly on the side of others; that he had hitherto been able to stand on the defensive against Runjeet Sing, and to do it with some effect; that that ruler's withdrawal was more injurious to him, on the terms proposed, than his continuance at Peshawur; that he himself now received a degree of respect which he could then no longer command, and that it was better to leave things as they were, in the hopes of some future change, than to shackle himself by being party to an arrangement which did him little good and seemed fraught with danger, and in return for which things might be expected of him which he would not perform. "Peshawur," said he, "has been conquered by the Sikhs; it belongs to them, they may give it to whoever they please; if to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, they place it in the hands of one who is bent on injuring me, and I cannot therefore acknowledge any degree of gratitude for your interference, or take upon myself to render services in return. [I admit that it will be highly beneficial, in many ways, to see the Sikhs once more eastward of the Indus, but I still can dispense with none of my troops or my precautionary measures, as equal, if not greater anxieties will attach to me. I have unbosomed myself to you, and laid bare, without any suppression, my difficulties. I shall bear in lively remembrance the intended good offices of the British Government, and I shall deplore that my interests did not permit me to accept what was tendered in a spirit so friendly, but which, to me and my advisers, has only seemed hastening my ruin. To Runjeet Sing your interference is beneficial, as he finds himself involved in serious difficulties by the possession of Peshawur, and he is too glad of your good offices to escape from a place which is a burthen to his finances; but by that escape a debt of gratitude is exactible from him and not from me, and if your Government will look into this matter they will soon discover my opinions to be far from groundless, and my conclusions the only safe policy which I can pursue.]"

9. The Nawab Jubbar Khan followed his brother, and said that it was undoubtedly true that the Ameer had not mistaken the evils which might ensue to himself from the entire restoration of Peshawur to Sooltan Mahomed Khan; but that the Afghan nation could not afford to lose the sympathy which had been exhibited by the British Government, and an arrangement might be made on the basis of a treaty which Runjeet Sing had once entered into with the Ameer and his deceased brother, Yar Mahomed Khan, which was to divide Peshawur between them, and receive equally at their hands a fixed tribute. Such an arrangement might

might now be made, and the Ameer would be free from fear of injury, and Runjeet Sing receive from him and Sooltan Mahomed Khan conjunctly the amount on which he was disposed to surrender it. The Ameer added, that such an arrangement would remove his fears, and he should wish no other person placed there but the Nawab himself, and one or two of his own agents under him. [These observations, coming from the Nuwab Jubbar Khan, are the more remarkable, since he is devoted to his brother, Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and would rejoice to see him restored to Peshawur. They consequently carried with me a conviction that the Ameer's fears are not groundless, and that they will deserve all due consideration before Government enters upon any measures for attaching this chief to its interests.]

10. To the proposition of the Nuwab, and the observations of the Ameer which followed upon it, I made no further remark than that plan would also be taken into consideration; but before proceeding further it was incumbent on me to ask one categorical question. [I had stated that the British Government considered itself conferring an everlasting favour on the Afghan nation by prevailing on the Sikhs to withdraw from this side the Indus; that I, who had seen this country, considered this act as one of the greatest possible blessings which could happen to this people. I had, however, heard from the Ameer that he did not appreciate this service as we did, and] was I [then] to consider that he would rather have the Sikhs in Peshawur, [with all their exercise of prejudice, and all the disgrace that it entailed,] in preference to Sooltan Mahomed Khan's being restored to his government in that city.

11. The Ameer replied that this was certainly placing the matter in an extreme light, and that he found a difficulty in answering the question; [he admitted fully the advantages of getting rid of the Sikhs, and was far from depreciating the good offices of removing them if it could be done, but] he would candidly ask in return, if the mode of accomplishing an act generally beneficial were proved to be detrimental to himself, who had the most substantial share of power in the Afghan dominions at this time, could it be said to be applying a remedy to the difficulties under which the Afghans laboured; and if in return for it the British Government could reckon on those acts which all powers naturally looked to in return for benefits conferred:—"I ask you not to aid me in achieving a supremacy throughout this country, but I do ask to be allowed to stand in the position in which you have found me; if I can be protected from intrigues in Peshawur, I will then consider myself benefited; but without such a plan as that which the Nuwab has stated, or some such other that places a Barukzye there, which the Governor General must devise, I foresee evils which cannot have entered into the minds of those who are my well-wishers."

12. ["As an instance in point, I have at this moment been made acquainted with an intrigue that has originated in Peshawur, and, as I believe, with Runjeet Sing, which will convey to your Government juster notions than any expressions of general apprehension. Sooltan Mahomed Khan has just sent an agent to the ex-King at Lodiana to offer his services to combine against me, and to secure my brothers at Candahar in support of this coalition. What security am I to receive against a recurrence of such practices? As for the ex-King himself, I fear him not; he has been too often worsted to make head here, unless he has aid from the British Government, which I am now pretty certain he will never receive. If my brother at Peshawur, however, under a promise of being made his minister, and assisted with Sikh agency and money, appears in the field, I may find, in expressing my satisfaction at his restoration to Peshawur, that I have been placing a snake in my bosom, and I may then, when too late, lament that I did not let the Sikhs do their worst, instead of replacing them by another description of enemies."]

13. I have thus placed before the Right Honourable the Governor General the opinions and views entertained by the ruler of Cabool, and the nature of the arguments which I have opposed them. [It has appeared to me that they call for much deliberation. It will be seen that this chief is not bent on possessing Peshawur, or in gratifying an enmity towards his brothers, but simply pursuing the worldly maxim of securing himself from injury. The arguments which he has adduced seem deserving of every consideration, and the more so when an avowed partisan of Sooltan Mahomed Khan does not deny the justice of the Ameer's objections. It will be for his Lordship to judge how far the British Government will agree to interference, through its agents, that will prevent the Chief of

Peshawur from caballing against his brother in Cabool; and if this could not be brought about by the plan suggested, of placing the Nuwab Jubbar Khan there on the part of the Ameer, and on the terms proposed. It would give Runjeet Sing tribute from both the Ameer and Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and thus gratify him, while the known good feeling of the Nuwab towards the British Government would give confidence to Runjeet Sing in the arrangement, and secure to the British a great reputation in these countries. In the event of this arrangement being also rejected, it does certainly appear to me that we are bound, in some way, to protect the Ameer from the cabals of Peshawur and Candahar, without which this country will become a scene of strife, injurious alike to our commerce and our politics. Those chiefs will acknowledge the ruler of Cabool as the head of the family, and respect him accordingly; but they do not admit being dependent on him, nor is it desirable to make them so. If we stand aloof and do not encourage Runjeet Sing to secede, the Ameer of Cabool will hold his present ground, since he is the most powerful of his family. If we interfere we endanger his supremacy, such as it is; and, consequently, it seems incumbent on us to prevent such interference being detrimental.

14. Under such circumstances, it might be urged that all interference had better be avoided; but this, as it appears to me, would be, under the existing state of things, a very doubtful line of policy, unless it is intended to put forth the ex-King at Loodiana, secure through him a footing in these countries, and sweep the present rulers from their authority, which has happily never been contemplated. Besides the very questionable nature of such a proceeding, it would not gain the objects of Government, for we should then be unable to balance one chiefship against another; and, though we might be sure of him whom we advanced to the throne of his fathers, we may experience in his successor all the evils of a powerful Mahomedan neighbour. With the Barukzye family in the three eastern divisions of Afghanistan, we have to deal, as it were, with but one house, and we have the certainty of their goodwill and services for these good offices, which will keep them stable as they are, and prevent their injuring each other. In time, when one chief found that he could not destroy another, the family differences will be allayed, and we shall thus fuse into one mass materials which are less incoherent than they appear, and have all that is wished on this important frontier of our Indian empire.

15. I have not hesitated, while reporting on a question of this magnitude, to give expression to sentiments which have been adopted after much reflection on the scene of these distractions. Since arriving here, I have seen an agent of Persia, with alluring promises, after penetrating as far as Candahar, compelled to quit the country because no one was sent to invite him to Cabool. Following him, an agent of Russia, with letters highly complimentary and promises more than substantial, has experienced no more civility than is due by the laws of hospitality and nations. It may be urged by some that the offers of one or both were fallacious; but such a dictum is certainly premature, and the Ameer of Cabool has sought no aid in his arguments from such offers, but declared that his interests are wound up in an alliance with the British Government, which he will never desert while there is a hope of securing one. It is evident, therefore, that in this chief we have one who is ready to meet us; and from what is passing in Central Asia at this moment, it is anything but desirable to exhibit indifference to the solicitations of one whose position makes him courted, and whom aid may render powerful for or against us.

16. As this letter contains matters which may materially affect an adjustment of the differences between the Sikhs and Afghans, I have sent a copy of it specially to Captain Wade. I am not in possession of his letter to you, handing up the first overtures of the Ameer of Cabool, and I cannot in consequence give my sentiments thereon, which will be received as an apology for my not having touched upon them in this letter. Captain Wade and myself have, I am sure, but one object, which is to gain the ends of Government by using our most strenuous endeavours respectively at Lahore and Cabool; but I most respectfully entreat that Dost Mahomed Khan's views be subjected to strict scrutiny before they are pronounced to be a mere "gratification of his personal resentments." Did I believe so, I would not transmit this letter; but this chief is perfectly aware of the policy that we have marked out for ourselves in this country, and his conduct has been already, in some degree, put to the test by Persia and Russia. With regard to the latter, the importance of it has now become manifest by the arrival

arrival of an express from the Bombay Government, conveying to me the Despatches of our Ambassador in Persia, which prove all previous conjectures to be well founded, and that Mr. Vickovitch is what he has given himself out, an agent from the Emperor of Russia. The necessity for a good understanding with this chief has thus become more than ever apparent, as the dangers from such an alliance are now no longer imaginary, but fairly developed.

17. I have just received a letter, as I finish this, from the Amcer to the Governor General, which I enclose, with its translation.]

I have, &c.

(signed) A. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 26 January 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esquire, Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, the accompanying letter, dated the 18th instant, from Lieutenant Leech, at Candahar, reporting his proceedings at that city.

No. 1.

[The clear and judicious mode in which that officer has unfolded to the chiefs the views which the Government entertain regarding them will, I doubt not, prove very satisfactory; and I have assured Mr. Leech that he has entirely acted up to the spirit of the instructions which he received from me.]

2. With reference to [the third and fourth paras.] of the letter now forwarded, his Lordship will see a further confirmation of the views put forth [in my letter of the 20th of October last], regarding the commercial advantages contemplated by Russia in establishing her influence over Herat and Candahar. That the correspondence with the Russian Ambassador entirely related to commerce, I have lately discovered the best grounds for disbelieving; for it seems that the Sirdars of Candahar sent blank letters by their agent, with their seals affixed, to Tehran, and requested Abbas Khan to have them filled up in a manner that would do them most service with Russia; and certainly if a Russian resident being located at Candahar is the result of these communications, the widest latitude has been taken in filling them up.

3. The report which Mr. Leech gives of the communications made by Captain Vickovitch, on his passing through Candahar, is important, as we now know what has passed there as well as in Cabool. It has occurred to me that whatever be the ulterior views of Russia in these countries, the immediate design of sending this Russian agent to Afghanistan was to prevent our thwarting the present Persian expedition on Herat by leading the Afghans in a body to render assistance. It is known to Russia that there is a British mission in this country; and if it had acted thus, as they supposed, the attack on Herat would have been hopeless. The reports of having strengthened the detachments east of the Caspian, and of Persia being protected by Russia in the Shah's absence, have been widely spread by Mr. Vickovitch, and countenance the opinion above given.

[4. From a passage in a private letter of Mr. Leech to myself it is not improbable, in the course of his intercourse with the chiefs of Candahar, that they will try and revive their claim on Shikarpoor, in Sinde, which they held some years ago. I have written to Lieutenant Leech to give an unqualified negative to the claim immediately it is raised, and to inform them that Sinde is under British protection. This will have the effect of showing to them and their Russian correspondents, if they still have such, that our influence extends closer upon them than they might have supposed.]

5. With reference to Shikarpoor, I am aware that the state of affairs on the Indus prevented us, with a due regard for national character, from accepting the tender made by the Amirs of Sinde to station an agent there in 1835, and repeated in 1836; but could the presence of an agent, if troops were objection-

able in that neighbourhood, be secured, it would prove highly beneficial to our commercial plans, and the tranquillity of the countries bordering on the Indus, and shut up at the same time a means of intrigue by a city which is justly considered one of the "Gates of Khorasan."

6. I am sorry to perceive that the chiefs of Candahar have taken alarm at Lieutenant Pottinger's presence in Herat. I had previously had the same report made to me; but I have no doubt Lieutenant Leech will remove it by a candid statement of the circumstances, that I did send money and letters to that officer, who was surprised while residing in Herat by the arrival of the Persians, and detained in consequence.

7. The late intelligence of Herat is satisfactory and encouraging.

I have, &c.

Cabool, 29 January 1838.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

P.S.—2 February 1838. As this packet is being despatched, your letter of the 27th of December has just reached me. It is satisfactory to think that in deputing Lieutenant Leech to Candahar I have but anticipated his Lordship's wishes, and, as it appears, the spirit of your communication now acknowledged. In explanation of the correspondence regarding Candahar, it is proper to observe that that chiefship could not resist Herat, if it were free, and attacked by it, for a month; its support, therefore, depends upon its union with Cabool; but I have steadily kept in mind that its integrity must be preserved, though I have shaped my proceedings so as not to separate it from Cabool, which would defeat all our ends. The Ameer does not contemplate the capture of Candahar; in 1833 he might have appropriated it to himself, and did not.]

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.

To Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

Arrival at Candahar.

I HAVE the honour to report my arrival at this city, which I entered on the 15th. I was received with every distinction by the Sirdars, who granted me an immediate interview, and apportioned a part of the premises of Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan for my residence. [This Sirdar is allowed by all to be the most intelligent, talented, and well-educated of the three brothers, and appears anxious of possessing the favour of the British Government; and with him I have had several important and interesting conversations.

Conversation with Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan.

Sirdar Mahomed Omer Khan.

2. Regarding the Despatch of Sirdar Mahomed Omer Khan to the presence of Mahomed Shah, he assured me that his brothers and himself were well aware of the proverbial infidelity of Persian friendship, and of the frailty of their promises, and that the Sirdars were influenced by fear of losing their small chiefship, should Mahomed Shah get possession of Herat, which he certainly would if the place were not succoured from the east; that the Sirdars of Candahar were, unfortunately, not on good terms with their brother of Cabool, and were, in themselves, not strong enough to afford that succour; that from the English they had no encouragement; that the letter received from you led them to believe you were coming to Cabool and Candahar for merely commercial objects, and were consequently not concerned in their foreign political alliances. That the Persian elchee, Kumber Ally Khan, had pledged Herat to them in the name of the Shah, for their co-operation against it; and on their not professing faith in this promise, Kumber Ally Khan promised to return, with the guarantee of the Russian Government to that effect, and that he was expected every day. As these Sirdars had already involved themselves with Persia, and courted its alliance, I saw it was impossible to request an abrupt termination of their intercourse, or a promise that they would not receive Kumber Ally a second time; but I put Mehur Dil Khan in mind of the substantial pledge of assistance and friendship received from you, and told him that we had taken up their cause at their own anxious request, and on an assurance of putting it entirely into our hands; and that if they held any other than unmeaning complimentary intercourse with Persia, our friendship must suffer a considerable diminution, which would be a subject of regret to us, and, God forbid! a subject of repentance to them. I impressed upon his mind that our desire to put a stop to the Persian army's advance was not from any apprehension for ourselves, for the power of the Persians we regarded as inferior to that of Runjeet Singh, but that it arose from a desire to uphold the independence of the Afghan Chiefs, with whom we have long had friendly intercourse.] He said it was well known that Persia had marched against Herat contrary to the advice of the British Ambassador at Tehran; that it was well known that Persia had not the power to act by herself, and that the Shah had been put forward by the Russians; [that the Emperor had desired an interview with Mahomed Shah, which the latter consented to grant, at the same time saying that by it his preparations against Herat would be thus retarded, and that the Emperor answered he would by no means wish the meeting at that

Herat pledged to Candahar.

Our reason for wishing to put a stop to the Persian advance.

Persia marching contrary to our advice.

Interview proposed between the Shah and the Emperor.

that

that cost. I endeavoured to inspire him with a confidence which I myself did not feel, as to the unlikelihood of the Russians being in the background of this campaign, by telling him that the Russian Ambassador had publicly given his advice against the Shah's undertaking the campaign, and that we had assurance from the cabinet of St. Petersburg of their having no designs in this quarter. Mulla Abdul Rashid Khan, the confidential adviser of Mehr Dil Khan, assured me that it was in the last degree improbable that Kumber Ally Khan would return.

Pledges we had received that Russia was not concerned.

Improbability of Kumber Ally's return.

3. With regard to the intercourse with the Russian Ambassador at Tehran, Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan assured me that it merely extended to propositions regarding commerce; that the English Ambassador had written to divert their intercourse with Persia, which for several reigns had been carried on by friendly letters and presents; that they directed their next subsequent elchee, whom they sent to Mahomed Shah, to wait on the English Ambassador; that this offended the Shah so much as to induce him to slight the elchee; that the latter had subsequently waited on the Russian Ambassador, who had proposed to the Sirdars to send a man of respectability to him at Tehran; and that he would make such arrangements regarding their commerce as would make their country a second Cashmere; that the last letter the Russian Ambassador had sent them had miscarried.]

Inter-course of Candahar with Russia.

4. Regarding the Russian officer now in Cabool with a letter from the Emperor, Mehr Dil Khan informed me the following were his messages from the Emperor. That if they would make friends with Ameer Dost Mahomed, the Russians would assist them with money to make war on the Sikhs, and regain Mo Khan and Derajat, and that they would also aid them in regaining Sind; that Mahomed Shah owed them one and a half crores of rupees, and they would give an order on him, the money to be divided between the Ameer and them equally, as also the countries thus gained; that the Russians could not furnish men, but would furnish arms; that they in turn expected the Sirdars to become subservient (farman bardar), and to receive a Russian resident; that they were to make war when desired, and make peace. This officer told them that the English had preceded the Russians in civilisation for some generations, but that now the latter had arisen from their sleep, and were seeking for foreign possessions and alliances; and that the English were not a military nation, but merely the merchants of Europe. Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan also informed me that several merchants had seen that officer in Bokhara, but were ignorant of the object of his visiting that city.

The agent of Russia now in Cabool. His messages.

5. With regard to the active part that Russia is taking in the movements of Persia, the Sirdar assured me he had good authority to state that Russia had taken measures to keep the kingdom of Mahomed Shah tranquil in his absence, by letters where they were feared, and by troops where they were not.

Measures adopted by Russia to co-operate with Persia.

[6. With regard to the increase of Russian power in the East, I told the Sirdar that it was a custom among the nations of Europe to combine their powers for self-protection against the ambitious designs of an overgrown neighbour, and that there were examples of this policy now in Europe as well as India.

Russian advance, how regarded in Europe.

7. In speaking to the Sirdar of the regret with which the British Government looked upon the unfriendly feeling existing between the brothers, I assured him that the States of Cabool and Candahar were regarded as distinct. He said that it was in the power of the British Government to reconcile them; that they all looked up to Dost Mahomed as the head of their family, but feared his ambition; that "if the lesser kissed the feet of the more powerful in obedience, it was fit that the latter should in return confer honour on the former."

Difference between the Barukzai brothers.

8. The Sirdar said that whatever hope the Amir might have of recovering Peshawar, he had none, as it was well known the Amir would not consent to its being held by Sultan Mahomed Khan; the Sirdar said there was a report, and a strong one, that Sultan Mahomed Khan in his interview with the Commander in Chief at Lahore had procured a grant of Peshawar to himself and family. I assured him he might rely on this being an untruth; that however friendly we were to Sultan Mahomed Khan, as one of the Barukzai brothers, we would never offer such a gross insult to our old friendship with the Mahomeds. The Sirdar expressed his surprise that the Peshawar question was not yet settled. I explained to him that our mediation was an extremely delicate and difficult task, and that we had to avoid the suspicion of having our own interested views. These conversations were held at my residence, where the Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan does me the honour of a daily morning visit. I lost no time in requesting a private interview with the brothers in company, that these topics might be discussed in the presence of all three to avoid the jealousy of any one taking offence. I accordingly attended the Durbar, and took occasion to explain to them the circumstances under which Lieutenant Pottinger found himself detained in Herat; for I had discovered that the presence at this crisis there of that officer had excited considerable alarm, especially as he had avoided Candahar in his way to and from Cabool. I assured them he was not there on the part of the British Government, but by mere accident, in the course of a tour prompted by his own curiosity. Sirdar Kolum Dil Khan asked me what we expected from Dost Mahomed Khan for our good offices in establishing peace between the Afghans and Sikhs. I said we expected he would value our friendship more than that of those who had done less for him, and abandon intercourse with those who were not our friends, and that our expectation was partly fulfilled. He asked if Dost Mahomed had in that part given security that the Sirdars of Candahar would act as he did. I said that we did not ask for the security; that although they had bound themselves to every agreement their elder brother might enter into with us, you had no intention of treating separately with Dost Mahomed Khan on any subject relating to the family

Peshawar question

Explained the delay in the settlement of Peshawar.

Interview with the three brothers.

Presence of Lieutenant Pottinger at Herat.

Return expected from the Amir for our mediation.

The Amir giving security for Candahar.

as

Our intercourse with the Amir gone through.

The original object of the mission to Cabool.

Feeling of Government regarding Herat.

We were prevented taking any measures for the safety of Herat, and why.

Latest news from Herat.

Sher Mahomed Khan Hazara.

Saloo Khan joined the Persians.

as a whole; that during our residence in Cabool of three months, the Peshawar question was the only topic agitated, except the contingency of Mahomed Shah getting possession of Herat, and that in that instance they well knew we had first made provision for the safety of Candahar.

9. I explained to the Sirdars the original object of your mission, and the circumstances under which it became political. I also informed them of the ignorance we were in of the manner in which our Government intended to act when they should hear of Herat being actually besieged; but they might rely that the capture of that city would be unwelcome intelligence to that Government; that although you were confident that this was the feeling of Government, you were unable to take or suggest measures to prevent such a misfortune, as there was by all accounts an accredited officer on the part of the British Ambassador in the camp of the Shah, to arrange any treaty, and to mediate if necessary between Prince Kamran and the Shah, and that Persia had authorised us by treaty so to interfere when a difference between those powers should arise. I said I had hopes that the Shah would withdraw, and in that case, or in the worse one of Herat being taken, they might rely on our assistance, if they preferred it, to keep their possessions in safety.

10. The latest news from Herat is, that there are only two gates open to the north, the Khushk and Kaloochak. The intelligence was brought by a cossid of Meerza Khan Achakzai's, four days ago, from Subzawar. The brother of this man had gone to Herat himself. This man also brought news that there had been no engagement between Sher Mahomed Khan Hazara and the force detached against him by the Shah. Another man, however, Sultan Khan Achakzai, arrived from Lash on the evening of the 18th, with intelligence that the ashif of Meshid Allaiyar Khan, who had been sent against Sher Mahomed Hazara, had engaged the latter at Killainon, and had lost 2,000 men; that he had sent to the Shah, either to be speedily reinforced or to be recalled. Mahomed Shah's mother has arrived in camp with 5,000 men. The part of the kungra (parapet) that had been battered down has been repaired; a gallery that was being driven on near the ditch has filled with water.

11. Deen Mahomed Khan, a nephew of Wazeer Yar Mahomed Khan, made a sally, and surprised 300 camels *en route* to the Persian camp, with ammunition and provisions, which he destroyed. Shah Pasand Khan, *alias* Saloo Khan Isacezai, formerly the Naib of Shah Kamran, whom the latter besieged in Lash, has accompanied Kumber Ally to the Persian camp. The messenger from Lash left the place eight days ago, and brought letters for the Sirdars from Kumber Ally Khan. He left Lash eight days ago, and hoped to reach the Persian camp in 12 days.

12. I have the honour to forward copy of a letter addressed by me to Sher Mahomed Khan Hazara. By the same messenger I forwarded your letter to Mr. McNeil and Captain Stoddart, and a copy of the last Government letter regarding Herat and Candahar.]

Candahar,
18 January 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R Leech*, Assistant.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 27th ultimo, on the subject of the unauthorised publication of information from your Mission in the Bombay papers; and in reply to observe, that his Lordship willingly accepts and fully relies on your assurances that the practice objected to will in future be guarded against.

Camp at Bareilly,
31 January 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin.*

2. With regard to the communication of the first-mentioned date, I am desired to observe that the Governor General must repeat his disapprobation of the offer of pecuniary aid which you have made to the Candahar chiefs; and his Lordship trusts that the expectation expressed in your letter to Lieutenant Leech may be realised, "that such promise will require no active measures, and be as a dead letter." You have been already informed that it must not be acted upon. With the above exception, I am desired to acquaint you that your proceedings now reported are entirely approved. Your deputation of Lieutenant Leech to Candahar is considered to be a judicious measure, and the general tone of your instructions to that officer seems to be well conceived and appropriate.

3. The Governor General would fain cling to the hope that the rumour of the fall of Ghorian may require confirmation, as you have not stated the authority on which the information rests, as communicated by you in your letter of the 30th ult.; but the question will doubtless be set finally at rest in a few days.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

Camp at Simlah,
31 January 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

In a communication, under date the 20th of October last, I did myself the honour to lay before the Right Honourable the Governor General of India a report on the views of Russia towards maturing her designs in Central Asia. I confined myself to the proceedings of that empire with reference to her encroachments on Khiva, her arrangements with Bokhara, and the ulterior benefits which she sought to derive in Herat and Candahar from her proceedings generally in Toorkistan.

2. I have of late gathered, from unquestionable authorities, a variety of particulars on the encroachments of Russia in another direction, on the Khanat of Kokan, to the eastward of Bokhara, that have been conducted with the same designs to push forward her commerce, and which may involve much more serious consequences than seem at first likely to flow from any proceedings in that remote part of Asia.

3. Kokan is now an Uzbek chiefship, situated on the Sir or Jaxartes. It possesses considerable celebrity in being looked on as the capital of Afrasiab, and is historically connected with the campaigns of Gengiz and Timour; but it is better known as the birthplace of Baber, from which he raised himself, first to the throne of Cabool, and ultimately to that of Hindoostan. The present chief, Mahomed Ali Khan, succeeded about 14 years ago to his father Omar Khan, and it is more than suspected that the son removed his parent by poison.

* Letter, dated 20 December 1837, reporting the deputation of Lieutenant Leech to Candahar in consequence of the rapid change of feeling in that country, and enclosing copy of the instructions furnished to that officer; acknowledging letter of the 13th November, and stating that a copy of it, relating to Candahar, has been furnished to Captain Stoddart, who is supposed to be at Herat on the part of Mr. McNeill. Letter, dated 30 December 1837, reporting that Ghorian has surrendered to Persia, and Herat besieged, but no impression yet made upon it.

poison. To the time of Omar Khan, the principality of Kokan had sunk in importance; but that chief ruled with equity and justice, and his son, though a parricide, reaps the advantage. By some Kokan is declared to be superior in power to Bokhara; by all it is now pronounced equal, so that the once fertile kingdom of Ferghana has again taken its place among the nations of Toorkistan.

4. In the time of Omar Khan there was little or no intercourse with the Russians at their settlement of Kuzzuljur or Petropolosk, which lies nearly due north, and in about the same meridian as Kokan, from which it is separated by a steppe. The Russians held sway over a portion of the Kuzzuks (Cossacks) who inhabit this part of Asia, and Kokan established an influence over those wandering tribes which adjoin her territories. On the death of the Khan, anticipating, from the circumstances attending it, a less inquiring attention, the Russians gradually advanced from their frontier, building small square forts at each station as they proceeded, dug two wells, stored a supply of grain, and planted a detachment of from 100 to 150 Russian infantry, with the further protection of some 400 or 500 of their Kuzzak subjects in the neighbourhood of each. About the year 1833, such had been the progress of Russia, that she had arrived within 12 stages of Kokan, and the nomade tribes declared their inability to render any further tribute, from their pasturage lands being invaded. The Khan, alarmed at such an announcement, as well as for his own safety, resolved to resent this invasion. Having assembled all his own troops, and directed the Kuzzaks, under their chief Roostum Tora, to join them, he placed the whole under one of his most distinguished officers, the Beglerbegee, with instructions to destroy the settlements south of a certain line, which anciently marked the dominions of Kokan.

5. The army set out from the capital of the country, and marching by Tashkend to the town of Toorkistan, finally quitted the cultivated land beyond that place, and proceeded into the steppe a journey of 20 days. The congregated force is said to have amounted to 40,000 men. The small detachments of the Russian forces could offer no resistance to such a horde; from the first fort they fled, from some of the others they offered resistance, and shut their gates; but seven of these settlements were in succession captured, along with some of the Russians who garrisoned them. In the attacks, a few lost their lives, but the Khan of Kokan had previously given instructions to his commander to set all the Russian prisoners free, declaring that his attack was not aggressive, but simply to protect the frontier of his dominions. The last fort which fell into his hands is described to have been on the verge of Siberia, where the Kuzzaks, subject to Russia, are both numerous and formidable. It was not therefore consistent with prudence or the policy of the Khan to enter territories undoubtedly Russian; and the Kokan army returned to its country, levelling all the forts that had been captured, and filling up the wells which supplied them with water. On their route back they made a "chupao" (foray) on a Kuzzak chief, and put him to death, since the encroachments of Russia were attributed to his having rendered assistance.

6. This enterprise of the Chief of Kokan must be considered very spirited. Forage, that is grass, his troops could procure in abundance; and cows, sheep, and horses for food; but the supply of grain was transported along with the army. He has for a time enjoyed the reward of his bravery; and as yet the Russians have not sought to renew an erection of the forts which have been destroyed. It is a universal opinion among the natives of Toorkistan that the Russian Government, by this advance on Kokan, sought to possess themselves of the country. Their commercial roads further to the west are often interrupted by the enmity which the Khan of Khiva bears towards them; and they did not hesitate to avow that they aimed at gaining a safe route into Toorkistan, which should give confidence to the traders of their own and that country, though their mode of procuring one did not seem of a pacificatory nature.

7. Foiled in this attempt, the Russian Government set about compassing by other means the objects which it contemplates; and shortly after the Kokan army was withdrawn, despatched an agent to the Khan to remonstrate on what he had done, and to suggest future arrangements which should benefit both. The agent was familiarly known to the people by the name of Alexander, but with his surname they are unacquainted. The Khan, dreading the power of Russia, treated the agent with much civility, and being disposed to enter into
views

views which advanced the prosperity of his chiefship, sent a return mission along with the agent to Russia, who was most graciously received by the Emperor.

8. The result of the intercourse between the Government of Russia and this small state has been the establishment of a frequent and regular traffic with Kokan. The road is said to be so superior that carts and sledges can be and are employed between Kuzuljur and Kokan in the transport of goods, instead of camels; and Kokan, now no longer supplied from Bokhara, sends many articles of commerce to that city. Russian merchants come in person to Tashkend and Kokan without fear or disguise; and though the Khan still entertains the same fears of their ultimate designs, he makes no objection, but, on the contrary, affords encouragement to this new commercial intercourse. Russia has thus, as far as commerce is concerned in Kokan, secured the objects which she had in view in this part of Asia.

9. There is much, however, to lead to the belief that her views at Kokan include political as well as commercial ends. A single glance at the map exhibits the importance of Kokan among the states of Toorkistan. It is in fact the key of the country; and history distinctly informs us that the various conquerors who have subdued Central Asia emanated from this locality. At this moment, Russia has at her command innumerable wandering races, the elements which composed the armies of those successful invaders; and besides these, she has a portion of them converts to Christianity, who have been disciplined as regular troops. It is not then remarkable that those who adjoin this gigantic empire, as well as those at a distance, should consider that they see in these advances of Russia injuries likely to flow in upon themselves.

10. But Kokan is not only the key of Toorkistan; it is on the high road to the Chinese settlements of Cashgar, Yarkund, and Khoten, with which it carries on a very considerable traffic, and where the Khan exercises much influence, as will be hereafter noticed. Nor is this all; there is an open and regular communication from Yarkund to Cashmeer and Ladak, so that, with an influence in Kokan, the ramifications of commerce become infinite, extending into Tartary, China Proper, and even India. The value of Herat as an emporium further to the south and west has been already described, as well as the designs of Russia to convert it to its own purposes. The site of Kokan, if examined, will appear not less useful, and account for the anxieties which have likewise been here displayed in establishing Russian supremacy. Herat has been stated to be the entrepôt of Persia, Toorkistan, Cabool, and India. Kokan will be found to be an emporium of Tartary and China, of Russia, and the northern frontiers of Hindoostan. But for the energy of the present Khan, Russia would have ere this secured a footing in this important mart.

11. In briefly sketching the events which have of late years taken place between the Chinese and the Khan of Kokan, I shall better exhibit the influence which an establishment here could exercise. The Khan does not possess power to expel the Chinese from their conquests, though most of their subjects are Mahomedan; but the various rebellions in this part of the Chinese dominions have dictated to that jealous people a line of policy both wise and considerate. Though they have taken the precaution to station their troops in forts where no Mahomedan is permitted to reside, and they here transact their commercial affairs, they have allowed an agent, on the part of the Khan of Kokan, to be stationed in each of their towns, and conceded to him the duties leviable by law on all dealings of Mahomedans coming to trade from the west: all debtors too who may flee here from their creditors are forthwith given up. The Khan has become, in consequence, interested in the tranquillity of the Chinese conquests, since he is permitted to derive a considerable revenue, without affording any protection to them. His understanding with the Chinese is therefore good, and he lately sent an Ambassador to Peking, who was received with unusual honours by the Emperor of China. The name of this individual was Alum Khojee, whose adventures would be interesting, but cannot be here related.

12. Attached to Kokan, it will be thus seen that there is a political influence subsidiary to commerce. At this time, the Russians trade to Chinese Toorkistan, by the towns of Eela and Aksoo, from a place called Shunnye, in Siberia, and situated 25 days' journey N. E. of Kuzuljur; but this intercourse is carried on by Mahomedans; no other Russian subjects being admitted into this part of the Chinese territories. Christians are, however, found at Yarkund, but they are

are subjects of China, and, from what I can understand, Armenians. Though some of the Kuzzaks of Shunnye are described to be wealthy men, Russia desires to introduce into these countries, as she has now done into Kokan, her other subjects, who would then secure their passage into Cashmeer and Tibet, and extend the national influence and importance of the empire. The shawl fabrics, which now pass by so circuitous a route into Russia, would thus find a directer passage; and as their sale in Russia is steady and improving, goods to some extent might be thrown in return into that and the neighbouring countries. Natives of Cashmeer, now settled in Tashkend, Kokan, Yarkund, and all these districts, would facilitate this commerce, and the direct trade from Cashmeer and Ladak to this part of China would become much brisker, by an agency more active and superintending than that by which it is at present carried on.

13. In looking back upon the rapid progress which Russia is thus making in the improvement of her commerce throughout Central Asia, we are struck with the singular success which seems invariably to attend her plans. Without going beyond the subject of the present communication, we see her first strive to gain her ends by force; and, when foiled, secure them by diplomacy. In all her arrangements she seems to be a winner, and in the course of time we shall see her influence increase in Kokan and Toorkistan generally, so that the resources of these countries, whether she seeks to subdue them or not, will be entirely at her disposal. The Khanat of Khiva is at present her only opponent, and it cannot be believed that that petty state can long resist the power of such a neighbour. The affair of the merchants of Khiva, who have been detained in Russia, is not yet settled, and continues to give cause for great dissatisfaction in Toorkistan. I venture, therefore, respectfully to state, for the consideration of his Lordship the Governor General, that this is a very fitting opportunity to present some counteracting measures to our great commercial rivals. An increased attention to the arrangements for improving commerce, by way of the Indus, either by means of a fair, the details for which were given in my letter of the 18th ultimo, or by some other such plan, would most probably succeed better at this than a future period. In a short time the detention of the Khiva merchants will be forgotten, affairs will assume their old state, and we may, perhaps, lose a highly favourable opportunity for advancing our commercial prosperity.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool,
1 February 1838.

(A true copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

THE present state of affairs in Herat has induced me to draw up a paper descriptive of them and the condition of the neighbouring countries, under an expectation that it will be found useful at this time, and which I have the honour to enclose, with a request that you will be pleased to lay the same before the Right Honourable the Governor General.

2. Though the subject of this communication is necessarily political, I have also embodied in it some geographical particulars not to be found in any of the writers on these countries, and which, while they illustrate the subject treated of, may, I also hope, prove generally useful.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool,
7 February 1838.

NOTICE on Herat, with a Sketch of the State of Affairs in the surrounding Countries.

WHILE Persia prosecutes her designs against Herat, it is desirable to take a cursory view of the state of affairs in Herat itself and the countries adjacent to it, as well to understand the resistance which they can offer as the facilities which they afford to an invading army. The variety of subjects treated only admits of this document being a sketch, in which light I give it. Object of the report.

2. Herat has been already described by so many travellers that any minuteness would be superfluous. It is situated in one of the richest countries in the East. It is a walled town with a citadel, surrounded by a deep wet ditch, which is supplied by water from springs in it, and may also be filled from the river. The ditch is in good, and the walls in tolerable, repair. The size of Herat has been greatly overrated. The limited space occupied prevents its having the population assigned to it, and it is not considered half the size of Cabool. Asiatics are not good judges of the number of people in a city, but in comparing one place with another they may be relied on. The importance of its situation is very great, and it has always exercised considerable influence over the affairs of Central Asia. "The most polished court in the west of Europe could not, at the close of the 15th century, vie in magnificence with that of Herat."* Herat.

3. Kamran, the present ruler, is the last remaining scion of the Sudoozye princes in Afghanistan. He is a man of bad passions, cruel and dissipated, entirely in the hands of Yar Mahomed Khan Alekozye, an Afghan, who has raised himself to eminence at Herat by getting rid of all the other chiefs. He is now Vizier, and would remove Kamran himself, or substitute a son in his stead, were he not afraid of the great Hazara chief, Shere Mahomed Khan, who resides to the north, and is a devoted supporter of Kamran's interests. The great tribe of the Berdooranees, who were removed from Eastern Afghanistan, to Herat, by Nadir, are nearly extinct. In Herat, of 3,000 families about one-fourth remain, and their chief, Mir Sadik Khan, has been lately put to death for real or supposed intrigues in Persia and Candahar. Shumssoodeen Khan Populzye, who distinguished himself in the last war with Persia, and had the government of Furra, has now gone over to that power in disgust, an unfortunate and ill-timed defection. The chief of Lash, Shah Pusund Khan, has also repaired to the Persian camp. Its government and politics.

4. The garrison in Herat consists of about 10,000 men. The vizier and his family muster 1,500, and the dependents of Kamran 200 more. Six thousand Dooranees and other Afghans have been removed from Furra into the city, and besides these are 3,000 foot, known by the name of "doutulub;" these are also Afghans, and a description of troops first established by Ahmed Shah Dooranee. They were obliged to furnish a horseman for every pair of ploughs, but Kamran last year converted the levy into foot, fixing two individuals for each plough. It caused a great deal of dissatisfaction, but this it is believed is now removed. The Kuzzilbash or Shiah inhabitants have been either sold by the minister or fled the country, with the exception of about 1,200 families, who have been removed to a place called Jakera, outside the city, to prevent treason. Many of the Soonee residents have been also sold, but the rest remain. Provisions have been plentifully stored, and to this time the city cannot be correctly said to be besieged, since two of its gates are open. There are but ten guns at Herat, and none of any calibre. The strength of the place consists more in its position than garrison. In 1833, when the present Shah of Persia, then Mahomed Mirza, attacked Herat, the operations were interrupted by the death of Abbas Mirza, and the Persians made a disastrous retreat to Tehran. Garrison.

5. The Persian army has been before Herat for the last 60 days without making any impression upon it. Ghorian, the frontier town, and a strong place, was betrayed into their hands; and this has enabled them to procure provisions and make good their footing, otherwise the subsistence of the army would have been very Siege of Herat.

* Erskine's Baber.

very difficult; as it is, the defection of Shumsoodeen Khan and others had been most fortunate for them. The season chosen for the attack is favourable to Persia in one respect, because it prevents Kamran being succoured by the Khivans, Toorkmans, and other natives of Toorkistan. If Herat can hold out till the equinox (nouroz), it is supposed that this aid may be procured, as will be hereafter stated. If the Persians are obliged to raise the siege, it will prove most calamitous to them; if Herat falls, the power of the Afghans as a nation will be much broken. In Ghorian, Persia has secured a great stronghold, which may hereafter enable her to hold her position and contribute to her ultimate success.

Extent of Herat,
revenue, trade.

6. At the present time the chiefship of Herat extends eastward to the Khaush-rood, a river half way to Candahar. To the north it has but a few miles of territory, the country in that quarter belonging to Sher Mahomed Khan Huzara. To the west lay the district of Ghorian, which before its capture exercised an influence over the Persian canton of Khaf. To the south Herat is bounded by the Helmund and Seistan, Kamran having subdued this latter province about four years ago. Herat has four districts called "willayuts," and nine "belooks." The "willayuts" are Obe and Ghorian on the east and west; Kurookh, or Kilai, on the north; and Subzawar on the south. Its "belooks" are the lands cultivated by so many canals, and bear their names. Two-thirds of the produce is generally taken by Government. It is doubtful if the revenue amounts to 13 lacs of rupees, but Kamran is rich in jewels and hoarded treasure. Tyranny and trade do not exist together.

7. The territories of Herat need not be further described. I shall commence from the south, and give in succession an account of the circumjacent countries. Seistan, though now a province of Herat, will deserve a short notice from its former fame. The ruling family of this province, descended from the line of Kyanee, has lately lost its power. To Behram Khan Kyanee a son succeeded to the government, and ruled over three chiefs, two of whom were Seistanees and Shiahs, the other a Belooch. A brother rebelled, and sought the assistance of the Belooch chief, the son of Khan Jan by an intermarriage. The rightful heir died or was put to death, and the Beloochees ill using the rebellious brother, he fled to Herat, and sued for the aid of Kamran. He immediately invaded Seistan, plundered it, and drove off 6,000 of its inhabitants captive, whom he sold into slavery, or exchanged to the Toorkmans for horses. He assigned to the Kyanee family the town of Jahanabad, south of the Helmund, where they now reside, and fixed his own government at Chuknusoos, north of the river. Little regular revenue is derived from Seistan, except camels, cows, and sheep; it is thinly peopled, and altogether a poor possession.

Geography of
Seistan.

8. The most remarkable feature of this old province is the intersection by the Helmund and its tributary rivers. In summer all these are greatly swollen, and it has been said that they form a lake called "Zurrah;" but the natives whom I interrogated were unacquainted with this name, and described the rivers to be lost in a vast swampy region, full of reeds, called "Hamoo." Many of the places on the map are also quite unknown, but this will be sufficiently accounted for when it is stated that ancient forts are often laid bare by the blowing away of the sand, while modern ones are overwhelmed. This is to the people a constant source of wonder, and castles of a former age are said to show themselves as newly from the hands of the architect. The singular disappearance of the waters of the Helmund, and this changeable face of nature, would account for the many fabulous descriptions of Seistan. Among innumerable ruins which I heard of, one in particular, that of an old city called Zaideen, in the "Loote" or desert, yields many antiquities, rings, coins, &c., which are taken by the finders to Furra for sale. One curious property of the climate is, that the horse cannot live in it, and probably there are not 100 of these in Seistan. Kamran lost nearly all his cavalry in his campaign, most of the horses dying from a disease of the digestive organs contracted in it, which makes it very unfavourable for military operations; but the camels of Seistan are celebrated.

Lash.

9. To the north of Seistan, and south of Furra, one of the governments under Herat, is the small district of Lash, held by Shah Pusund or Suloo Khan, a Sadozye Dooranee. Lash itself is a place of considerable strength in those parts, being a fort on a scarp'd hill or rock, which has resisted all Kamran's
endeavours

endeavours to take it. It is situated in the Furra road, and with seven or eight small forts forms all the possessions of this chief. Kamran, unable to seize it, destroyed its karezces or watercourses. This hostile disposition has driven Shah Pusund Khan from his natural friends, the Afghans, to Persia, with which he is leagued, in hopes of warding off danger from himself. The chief is well spoken of in these countries. He received the ex-king, Shooja ool Moolk, after his last defeat, at Candahar, who fled there in hopes of support from Kamran; but though these members of the Sudoozye family exchange presents with each other, there is no cordiality, since on the success of either, one must fall, and at present Kamran has power, of which Shooja has been deprived.

10. Kayn is the first Persian province to the west of Furra, and lies on the frontiers of the kingdom. It is entirely inhabited by Shiah, which has led the Toorkmuns to seek for slaves in it during their "chupaos," (forays). The inhabitants are a timid race, and live in small forts, the number of which is very great. Kayn is a country badly watered, and the bair tree, which always flourishes in arid countries, is common. Birjind and Kayn are the principal places, and the district is ruled by a Governor of its own, whose subjection to the Shah, however, is complete, since he furnishes a quota of 3,000 or 4,000 infantry when called upon. They form part of the force at present before Herat. The chief of Herat had designs on Kayn, and in a difference between that and the neighbouring canton of Tubbus, which arose six years ago, Kamran lent his aid to the Governor of Kayn, but the dispute was adjusted. Kayn was never subdued by Kamran, and it refused also to accept a Governor of Abbas Mirza's appointment in 1832. It is now held by a son of Meer Alam Khan, its former Governor. Kayn.

11. Adjoining Kayn, and further to the west, is Tubbus, which is also subject to Persia, and inhabited by Shiah; its principal places are Tublus, Toon, and Goonabad; of them, Toon is the largest. It has its own Governor, Meer Ali Naghee Khan, and very much resembles Kayn in soil and productions, though the orange tree is not found in any other part of Khorasan. Its quota of troops is also furnished in infantry, and both places are noted for the carpets, which form part of their tribute. Tubbus.

12. North of Tubbus is Toorskish, a district which is well watered and peopled, yielding good fruit. It is smaller than Kayn, and furnishes about 3,000 troops to the Shah, and has a Governor appointed over it. It lies north from Meshid. Toorskish.

13. Between Toorskish and Herat, and south of the road which leads from Meshid to that city, is the district of Khaf, a miserable tract, with a climate very uncongenial from high winds. It has been nearly depopulated by the Toorkmuns. The principal place is Killa Rohee, which is held by Nussur olla Teimoree, who is a Shiah. Khaf could scarcely be said to be dependent in Persia till the present campaign. The Shiah population is also outnumbered by the Soonees, who are Teemorees. Kamran's Minister had, in some degree, subdued Khaf, and very imprudently garrisoned the frontier tower of Ghorian by its natives, who were Shiah, which led to its being betrayed into the hands of the Shah. Khaf.

14. The hilly country between Meshid and Herat, on both sides of the high road to within 40 miles of that city, has been subject to Persia since 1833, and is held directly under Meshid. Previous to that period many petty chiefs, who were robbers, occupied the tract. Of these Mahomed Khan Kurace, of Toorbut Hyderee, was the most notorious. He is now in the service of the Shah, and Toorbut and Sungan, his strongholds, are garrisoned by Persians. Toorbut-i-Sheikh Jan, a place of pilgrimage, was held by the Huzarees, as also Mahmoodabad and Shurh i-Now. On the approach of the Persians, the population was marched further east, and the few residents in these places only cultivate within a gunshot of their villages, from fear of the Toorkmuns. Water and forage abound. Toorbut Hyderee, &c.

15. North of this tract, and about 100 miles from Meshid, lies Shurukhs, long the seat of Toorkmuns, who plundered Khorasan. In 1832 I saw it rich in the spoils of others, but in a few months after it was surprised by Abbas Mirza in person, who either captured or killed its entire population. Those which

which were ransomed returned to Shurukhs, but in the following year the Khivans, who claim some power over it, insisted on their removing further into the Desert to Merve, where they are located. Shurukhs has abundance of cultivable land on the banks of the Tijind, but the excesses of its population scared away the traveller and the merchant; and if not now the residence of robbers, it lies on the route by which these sons of the Desert issue to plunder on the frontiers of Persia.

Moorghab and the
Soonee Huzaras.

16. Immediately on the north of Herat lies the country of the Soonee Huzaras, and that portion of the tribe ruled by Sher Mahomed Khan, of Killai-Nou, an adherent of the chief of Herat. This country includes Obe, and extends to the Moorghaub. On the last invasion of Herat he removed about 4,000 Tajik families from their seats nearer Herat, to the more fertile lands east of Punjdeh, on the bank of that river, that if his enemies triumphed over him, near Herat, he might still have subjects. This chief has great power in these countries, and, besides his attachment to Kamran, has connection with the Khivans, Toorkmuns, and chiefs in and about Maimuna, all of whom would only assist Herat through him. He plunders the country of its property and inhabitants as far west as Meshid and Nishapoor, and the petty chiefs of Khaf, Toorkish and Tubbus are glad to send him annual presents, to spare in some degree their people. He is a man about 45 years of age, and of a better disposition than his cruel occupation would lead to the belief. He is a nephew of Mahomed Khan Beglerbagee, and now holds that title. 'He can take the field with 6,500 horse; 2,000 of these are constantly present; and 2,000 more from his "ooloos" are to be assembled in a few days; 1,500 are furnished from the Feerezkohees, who are his subjects; and the Jumsheedee Eimaks, who are his friends and coadjutors, will send 1,000 more. He can also command 2,000 or 3,000 horse from Maimuna; and in the former invasion of the Persians, all the Toorkmuns co-operated with him. Without the aid of Sher Mahomed Khan, Herat could have no hope against Persia; but that chief will not aid Kamran against Candahar or any other power. Though cordial with Kamran, he is inimical to his minister, whom he considers to have supplanted him in authority.

Maimuna.

17. Across the Moorghab, and towards Balk, which city is in the territory of the King of Bokhara, lie the small states of Maimuna, Andkho, Shibbergam, Siripool and Akchee; a connection, as I have before stated, subsists between them and Herat, but since they are divided against each other, their aid is of small avail, as a minute account of them will better exhibit. All of them are engaged in the slave trade, and independent, though they send presents of horses both to Herat and Bokhara. Maimuna is the most important of the whole: the chief is Mizrab Khan, an Uzbek of the tribe Wun, and his country extends from Maimuna to the Moorghab, and adjoins that of Sher Mahomed Khan Huzara. Maimuna itself is an open town, or rather village, of about 500 houses; but the strength of the chief consists in his "ils," or moving population, who frequent Ulmur, Jankira, Sorbagh, Kaffir Killa, Khyrabad, Kusar, Chuckaktoo, Tukht-i-Khatoon, and other sites, which can scarcely be called villages. He also numbers Arabs among his subjects, many of that tribe having been long settled here. With his whole adherents drawn out, he could muster about 6,000 horse and three small guns, but he could not quit his territories with half the number, as he is on bad terms with the chiefs of Siripool, who is much feared, though less powerful. Mizrab Khan is about 40 years of age; he succeeded to his brother about six years ago, whom he poisoned—a common mode of disposing of people in these countries, and a fate which his own father also met.

Andkho.

18. Andkho, or Andkhoe, is ruled by Shah Wulee Khan, an Afghan Toork, who settled here, with others of his tribe, in the time of Nadir. They were then Shiahhs, but are now Soonees. The "ils" of the chiefs, besides his own race, are Arabs, and he can furnish 500 horse, and is on good terms with Maimuna. Andkho has a larger fixed population than Maimuna, being in one of the high roads to Bokhara, but there is a scarcity of water in this canton. It is here that the wheat is a triennial plant. Andkho is the place where Moorcroft perished.

19. Shibbergam belongs to an Uzbek chief, named Roostum Khan, who has a character for moderation; he can muster 500 or 600 horse, and is on good terms with

with both Maimuna and Koondooz. Shibbergam is considered to be a very ancient place, being given to the days of the Kaffirs (Greeks), and still the strongest fort in these parts. The "ark" or citadel is built of brick and mortar, and surrounded by other walls of mud. Kalick Ali Beg, the late Chief of Balk, besieged it for seven years without success, but it must only be understood to be strong against Uzbeks, who are badly supplied with artillery. Water is conducted to it from the rivulet of Siripool.

20. Zoolfkar Shere, an Uzbek of the tribe of Achumuelee, governs Siripool, and is known as a brave and determined man; he is on bad terms, both with Koondooz and Maimuna, and though he has only 1,000 horse he resists the attacks of both, and plunders all around; his feud with Maimuna arises on account of his daughter, a wife of the former Chief, being seized by Mizrab Khan. His "ils" are in Sungcharuk, Paogan, Goordewan, and Daghdrah, and if he can enlarge their number, which is not improbable, his power will be increased. Siripool itself is as large as Maimuna. Siripool.

21. Akhchar is a dependency of Balk, and held by a son of Eshan Khoja, the governor of that once vast city. It is consequently tributary to Bokhara. The Governor of Balk, through fear, lately permitted Moorad Beg, of Koondooz, to establish himself on one of the canals of Balk; but the King of Bokhara sent a force of 8,000 men, and has just dislodged him. Half of this body was raised in Balk, and the rest from Bokhara. The Koondooz Chief offered no resistance to the King. Akhchar and Bal

22. All of these Chiefships are situated in the plain country, which in general is well watered by rills or canals, and has abundance of forage for camels and horses, which are numerous. The soil is dry, but there are many gardens near the towns. The style of building, from a scarcity of wood, is that of the bee-hive shape. There is a good open caravan road from Meshid to Balk, which is a journey of 16 days; thus, from Meshid to Shurukhs, four; to the Monghul, three; to Maimuna, four; and to Balk in five days. This is much the nearest route to Cabool from the west. Supplies, roads, and nature of the chiefs.

23. Between Herat and Cabool, and south of these Chiefships, lies the mountainous country of the Hazaras. The journey between the cities has been performed in 12 days by Shah Zuman, with a body of horse, and is said to be passable for artillery of small calibre. Caravans also travel it in summer, but the ascents and descents of innumerable hills are such that it is very fatiguing to the cattle, and the roads from Cabool, by Maimuna or Candahar, are always performed. Towards Herat the Hazaras are Soonees, while those near Cabool are Shiahls, which is a singular reversal, since the people of Cabool are of the former, and those of Persia of the latter persuasion. About Khujir Chist, east of Obe and Herat, the Teimorees are partially submissive to Sher Mahomed Khan, and will assist Herat. Those who are near Maimuna, and the adjoining states, are plundered by them, while Moorad Beg, of Koondooz "chupaos" the country to Yakonbung, over three of the passes of Hindoo Koosh, and near Bamian. The eastern portion about Bamian, and west of the road between Ghuzni and Candahar, are subjects of Cabool, and pay a regular tribute. They are the Hazaras of Besoot, Dihzunggee (in part), Kara Bagh and Jughoree. The Kuzzibashes of Cabool have orders given on the greater part of this tract for their allowances, the people being Shiahls, but the revenues of Besoot are generally collected by one of the Ameer's sons. The Hazarabs of Faloda, Hoojuran, which is west of Jughoree, as well as those of Dih Koondie, secure independence from their remote possessions. The whole race is without a head, or it might prove very formidable; at present they are driven off in every direction, and sold like sheep. At no period did the Kings of Cabool derive so much revenue from them as is now procured by Dost Mahomed Khan. The eastern Hazaras are bigoted Shiahls, and devotedly attached to the Persian party in Afghanistan.

24. South of the territories of the Hazaras we have the Chiefships of Candahar, but its affairs require a more extended notice than can be here given to them. It will be sufficient to observe that if Herat were not crippled by Candahar.
1—Sess. 2. S Persia,

Persia, Candahar could not resist an attack from it without the aid of Cabool. The position of Candahar is isolated, and its cordial union with Cabool is therefore necessary for its existence and preservation. The Chiefs themselves are perfectly aware of their danger, and in seeking an alliance with Persia have no sincerity in their solicitude, but the object of security against Herat. Their position is further endangered by differences, which are unhappily too frequent, among the ruling brothers, and which foreign threats do not always extinguish.

Probable effects of
Persian invasion
and ascendancy.

25. Having thus passed in review the state of Herat itself, and the countries around it, they certainly would not appear to be in a condition likely to offer much resistance to a power which had any consolidation. If Persia fails in the present attack, the result may be disastrous to her, but if enabled to establish an ascendancy in Herat, she could in course of time bring under subjection the petty states to the north; she could never advance a step further east without paralysing or conquering them. The Afghans themselves view with concern, and many of them with despair, the present invasion by Persia; the whole resources of that country, say they, have never of late years been arrayed under the Shah, and that this attack differs in consequence from all others. If it prove successful, they anticipate the removal of the Afghans round Herat into the interior of the kingdom, according to the usage very common in these countries, which will let in upon its fertile plains the neighbouring Shah subjects of Persia, and thus fix its supremacy and support the feelings of the Afghans, in religion and policy, by those of Persia. Should these opinions turn out well founded, the result of the campaign will be most calamitous to the Afghan people, though the progress of Persia towards Cabool itself would even in that case be still impeded by the number of Chiefships, though that number and their disunion would ensure their ultimate fall. It is fortunate that the Huzaras about Herat are enemies in creed to Persia, and that the whole country to the Indus is inhabited by rigid Soonees; still, with a tolerant policy that interfered not with their religion, any power might overrun and maintain the region lying between India and Persia. Had Runjeet Sing, in the outset of his career, permitted the Mahomedans to pray aloud and kill cows, he might have possessed himself of the entire kingdom of Ahmed Shah Dooranee. But Persia is not likely to pursue more enlightened views, and the present reigning family in Afghanistan, the Barukzyes, may avail themselves of the opportunity to secure their possessions by submitting to his power, for since Persia cannot govern them herself they may do it under her. Should, however, the Afghans, circumscribed though they now are by narrow limits, be freed from apprehension on the East, instead of following the destinies of Persia on the fall of Herat, they might without difficulty be united, when their country would form a barrier not to be forced by future aggressors. The materials are by no means so incoherent as they at first sight appear, but without measures that will ensure their union as a nation (whatever independence may be allowed to each Chiefship), this country must sink under one of even inferior resources.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

Cabool,
7 February 1838.

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report on an intrigue or conspiracy, encouraged by Maharajah Runjeet Sing, to overthrow the government of Dost Mahomed Khan, which has been discovered in a curious manner, by the melancholy assassination of one of the parties concerned. A few words will suffice to explain its origin.

2. After the affair of Jamrood, the Ameer of Cabool gave the government of Ghuznee to one of his six sons, displacing his nephew Shumsodeen. Sooltan Mahomed Khan, from Peshawur, fomented as much as possible the bad feeling to which this step gave rise, addressed letters to Shumsodeen and to his own sisters at Cabool, to incite their husbands to conspire against Dost Mahomed Khan, promising them in return, and in his Highness's name, great rewards from the Maharajah. On this account various letters were addressed to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, who passed them on to Rajah Dhyan Sing, and the steps taken by the ruler of Lahore on the occasion have now come to light in the annexed documents.

3. One of the Ameer's brothers-in-law, Sadoo Khan, a Barukzye, being, as it is supposed, conscience struck at his treason, revealed it to the Ameer, greatly to the dissatisfaction of his wife, a lady of imperious disposition, who had long been ill used by him, and against whom she had often complained to her brother, the Ameer. Dost Mahomed Khan took no further notice of what he had heard than to inform all parties of his knowledge of their conduct. On the night of the 5th instant, as Sadoo Khan was returning home from dining with the Ameer, he was shot through the body, in the bazaar, by three balls. The assassin was immediately secured, and, horrible to relate, stated that he had been bribed to do the deed for 20 tomans (200 rupees) by the man's wife. Sadoo Khan lingered till next day, when the Ameer ordered the murderer to be executed and his body divided into parts, to be gibbeted in the city. The Ameer's sister confesses her guilt, and gives her husband's ill treatment of her as its cause.

4. In making an inventory of the deceased's effects, the letters appended were discovered, and they do indeed bear out the ruler of Cabool in the suspicions expressed in the third and fourth paragraphs of my letter of the 26th ultimo, that the ruler of Lahore seeks now to compass the Ameer's destruction, by means of Sooltan Mahomed Khan. While the Maharajah is addressing the Governor General to the effect that "no one will be able to foment disturbances" in Cabool, and "what power have Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan and others that they should offer any pretext;" and while his Highness "expresses himself in terms of cordiality and readiness to act in consultation and harmony with our Government in respect to Afghanistan," he has at that very time conferred the title of Meer of the Afghans on Sooltan Mahomed Khan, counselled his being placed over all the first men in the country, and actually made a move towards the Attok to "check-mate," as he calls it, the Chief of Cabool.

5. I have seen the originals of the letters now transmitted, and retained copies of them. They certainly carry a conviction that the Ameer of Cabool sees well into what is passing; he handed them to me with a note, saying he looked to the British Government as a sick man did to a physician, and that though the family circumstances which had brought these papers to light were not matters for him to dwell on, it corroborated all he had previously stated.

6. The expression of Russian agent or "Naib i Ooroossee," given to one of the individuals named in the Maharajah's letter to Dhyan Sing, is not without its

its importance at this time, and shows that if his Highness did really consider the individual in question an agent of Russia, he did not on that account think it necessary to abstain from seeking his aid and co-operation.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

Cabool, 10 February 1838.

On a Mission to Cabool.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Rajah Dhayn Sing to the address of Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed Khan, the Meer of the Afghans.

A. C.

Your kind letter, containing the happy tidings of your welfare, and the faithful services which you are performing for his Highness the Maharajah, reached me in a fortunate moment, and I fully understood its contents. As there were many important subjects in your letter, I lost no time in laying it before the Maharajah, who has highly approved of them, and of your attachment and fidelity.

I rely, and thoroughly trust, that the Maharajah will honour every one of the chiefs and nobles who shall wait on him, in the month of Kartak (November), with suitable "Jageers," and I have obtained the order of his Highness to this effect, a copy of which I enclose for your perusal.

You must now endeavour to further promote the power of the Maharajah, and bring over Sirdar Mahomed Afzal Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed Khan, with 2,000 horsemen; Sooltan Ahmed Jan, the son of Azim Allah Khan, and Moolla Momin, and every one of them will receive the favours of the Maharajah and gifts of land, according to his station. They will also get a suitable sum of money to maintain their dignity.

Do not be at all concerned for yourself; the title of "Meer-i-Afghan," or chief of the Afghans, which the Maharajah has lately bestowed upon you, will become celebrated, and crowned by fresh favours of the Maharajah. By fulfilling the services pointed out, there will be three benefits arising to you: first, the bonds of your loyalty and attachment to the Maharajah will be strengthened; second, your name will be known to every Afghan in the country; third, the nobles and chiefs who will wait upon Maharajah by inducements from you, will be grateful to you, and consider you the Meer of the Afghans.

I hope you will send your messengers in all quarters, to every one, and assure them of the favours of the Maharajah in case they come in this month of Kartak (November).

You should also write to Sirdar Khojah Mahomed Khan (his son), and to Sirdar Rahim Dil Khan (of Candahar), to come with 2,000 horsemen to the Maharajah, who will graciously give him a handsome salary to maintain his dignity and equipage. It will make the friends of Kandahar happy, and the enemies sorry.

You should also write to Sirdar Shumsoodeen Khan, the son of Mahomed Ameer Khan, to hold out in Ghuzni with bravery, and send his agents to the Maharajah, who will honour him with the highest favour. In this case he will have no fear from Cabool (Dost Mahomed). We will also send a bold army to Peshawur; and Dost Mahomed Khan, being surrounded with difficulties, will be like the king on a chess board, checkmated in Cabool.

You yourself must also sow the seeds of friendship with the rulers of Bajour and Kooner, and obtain their confidence.

It is well known to you that the Maharajah is extremely fond of horses, so you must induce the nobles who intend to wait on his Highness to bring fine horses and swords, and his Highness will thus be more kind to you.

Continue to write me always, since a letter is considered half a meeting.

TRANSLATION of the Enclosure, being the Letter of the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, to the address of Rajah Dhayn Sing.

A. C.

Since you are my confidential and principal wellwisher, I give you notice of the following arrangements.

You know that Sirdar Afzal Khan, son of Dost Mahomed Khan, with 2,000 horsemen, and Sirdar Rahim Dil Khan, with the same number of troops and five horses, as well as Sooltan Ahmed Jan, son of Azim Khan, Moolla Momin Khan, &c., with 200 horsemen, Hajee Khan Kokar, Abdool Summund, Naibi Roosee (agent of the Russians), Nabobs Jubbar Khan, Zaman Khan, and Usman Khan, have desired, through Sirdar Sultan Mahomed

Mahomed Khan, to wait upon me. I therefore inform you that any of these Sirdars who may come with presents of good horses and swords will meet my favour, and, in lieu of his homage, receive a handsome salary.

You should also write to Sirdar Shumsoodeen, the son of Mahomed Ameer Khan, to rely on my kindness, and be happy in Ghuzni. He ought to send his agent to me, who will be treated kindly.

(True translations.)

(signed) Alex. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, a letter from Lieutenant Leech, under date the 28th ultimo, reporting the progress of the Persians against Herat, and continuance of his communication with the Chiefs of Candahar.

2. It will be seen that the impression entertained at Candahar is, that Herat will fall by the vernal equinox if not succoured. In the 5th paragraph of the Report, accompanying my letter of the 7th instant, it is however believed that if it can hold out till then it will receive assistance from the Toorkmuns and other tribes of Toorkistan.

I have, &c.
(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 12 February 1838.

To Captain *Alexander Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that since my last, dated 18th instant, there have been no news received from the west regarding the progress of the siege of Herat; my own cosaid has not had time to return. Kamran is described as in a state of insensibility to his danger from constant debauchery, and the opinion here is, that unless succoured (of which at present there is little hope), the place will fall by the festival of Nouroz, about the 1st of April.

No news from west regarding siege.

2. The Sirdar called on me on the 21st. He seemed anxious that some immediate step should be taken to secure Herat; he said that he and his brothers would collect 50,000 men, and that their moving on to Furrak with this force would raise the siege of Herat; that it would be too late to seek for safety of Candahar when that city fell, that it was the gate of Afghanistan; he mentioned there was an elchee of Kamran's in the city, who had come to offer money to the Sirdars if they would move on to Furrak, and that they had delayed, in expectation of assistance from us. He then read a letter from Newab Jubbar Khan, in which they were led to hope that everything they wished would be done by me, and he wished to know in what way the British were willing to befriend them. He said Mahomed Oomer Khan had not been despatched to conciliate the Khujurs on account of fear for their own possessions; that they were not always powerful enough to resist Kamran, and that if Persia threatened them they would tender their allegiance, and to save themselves they had intended sending to conciliate the Shah, that they might keep him out of Afghanistan, get rid of Kamran, and secure Herat for themselves, and in the hands of Afghans. I said we were prevented going farther than in promising them assistance in case of the fall of Herat, and Candahar being threatened on account of the presence of a British agent in the Persian camp, and that we were ignorant what instructions he had from Government, and in this ignorance we could not act in this quarter for fear of counteracting the views of our own Government; that a few days must bring us the views of that Government on the present crisis of affairs in this quarter, as the fall of Herat had been proposed as a supposition for their opinion two months ago, and that until we heard from the officer in the Shah's camp or from Calcutta, we could give them no other kind of assistance than already promised. They offered to forward any letter to the Shah's camp for me, with a man of his own, to whom he would give as a subterfuge letters for Kumber Ali Khan; the Sirdar said that of course the Sindians would be pleased at the success of the Persians, as they were in their interest.

Conversation with Mehr Dil Khan

Raising the siege of Herat.

Object in sending Mahomed Omer Khan.

Offer to forward letter to the Shah's camp.

Conversation with
Sirdar Rahim Dil
Khan.

3. On the 23d, I requested an interview with Sirdar Rahim Dil Khan at his residence. In speaking of the comparison of our friendship with that of Persia, I said the latter had certainly promised them Herat; that we could not do that, but by securing their country from foreign enemies would give them time to administer the internal affairs of their own country, and increase their revenue; that we were on good terms with Kamran, and were till now with Persia; that we disapproved of her designs in this quarter; that we had disciplined her army, and were ready to officer her troops, if employed in other quarters. Persia had offered them Herat. It was for them to consider whether she had the power to fulfil this promise, and protect them from the enemies that this allegiance to Persia would create.

Cause of our dif-
ference with Persia.

Second conversa-
tion with Mehr Dil
Khan.

4. On the 24th, Sirdar Mehr Dil Khan again called on me. I said he best knew what advantage or disadvantage would arise from their connexion with Persia, but that the world saw one disadvantage, that it was well known that if a cry was raised in the country at present against the Sheeah Persians, thousands of ghazees (crusaders) would rise and consent to be led against their enemies for a bare subsistence, and if they allied themselves with those Sheeahs, an opening was left for any Soonce enemy of theirs to raise that hue against themselves in their own country.

Opening for an
enemy made by
their alliance with
Persia.

Afghans averse to
peace.

5. He said that the Afghans were a nation that were unwilling to receive the blessings of peace, their country was poor and their population could not be contained in its present bounds and exist. I said that with peace their commercial connexion with neighbouring countries would increase; that in those countries there was now a demand for the natural products of this, which by peace being established would increase, and employment might be found for the warlike spirits he had mentioned in the armies of their neighbouring friends.

Interview with the
Sirdars in company.

6. I yesterday had an interview with the Sirdars in company, and explained away to their satisfaction some expressions in a letter addressed by yourself to Kohin Dil Khan, which had slightly displeased him. I explained to him that the letter contained the serious advice of a friend, putting him on his guard against what appeared an imminent danger, and that his own friendly letters had authorised that offer of advice. Kohin Dil Khan asked me the object the mission had in coming so far from our country. I explained that the English had grown powerful by their commerce; that to increase that, and to encourage merchants, we had been deputed from Hindoostan to seek to conduct to our own markets by the river Sinde, the productions there in request of the countries to the right and left of that river. That these were the original objects of the mission. The Peshawur question had fortuitously arisen, and since, the Herat one, though far from being anticipated on our departure from Hindoostan. He asked whether our objects were commercial or political in these countries. I told them they would continue commercial so long as the west was quiet, but when that ceased to be the case they would become political. He said that in our letters the word "parwarish" had often been used, and by that word he understood advancement, and asked by what means we proposed to advance him. I said, I was not aware of that word having been used; he said "parwarish" was the training of a shrub till it became a tree; that the growth of our trees took many years. They (the Sirdars) were anxious for the present, not for the future; they did not care what happened after their lifetime. I said that this commencement of friendship was the seed of the tree, and before rearing it, it was necessary to know what fruit it would bear, but these were subjects for future discussion; that the present "parwarish" we offered was security against their enemies. Rahim Dil Khan said, this was not "parwarish;" they said they desired the acquisition of increased power, and they were afraid that if they made friendship with us, we could check their attempts at conquest by claiming the threatened country, as connected by bonds of friendship with us. I told them explicitly that we would certainly interfere if they attacked a state with whom we might have a defensive treaty, or if they disturbed any state on our frontiers, so as to injure our trade, and thus ended the interview.

Object in coming to
this country.

Whether commer-
cial or political.

Candahar, 28 January 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) R. Leech, Assistant.

(True copy.)

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

AFTER I had despatched my packet of this day's date, I received the accompanying letter from Lieutenant Leech, which brings down our intelligence from Candahar to the 5th instant. The Persians seem to prosecute the siege of Herat with vigour, but as yet, happily, without success.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 12 February 1838.

To Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward the following pieces of intelligence brought from Herat by Sayad Noor Shah, who arrived last evening from that city after a journey of 11 days, with letters from the Vizier of Shah Kamran to the Sardars, suing for their assistance, and appealing to them as professors of one faith (the Sunnee)

2. The whole Persian force consists of 70,000 infantry and cavalry, 63 guns and seven mortars; 20,000 of these with 11 guns were detached under the Ashif of Meshid against Sher Mahomed Hazara, whom he defeated; but the latter being joined by the chief of Maimuna, subsequently gained advantage in different actions, killing 2,000 Persians. Mahamad Shah has detached 3,000 men and several guns (3) to reinforce the Ashif. Sher Mahamad has written to Kamran, to say he would after two days venture a general action; if the event was favourable, he would hasten to his assistance, if not he must trust to his good fortune. Kamran is reported to be suffering in health. It is thought that if Sher Mahamad should gain a victory over the Ashif of Meshid, Mahamad Shah would be glad to treat with his enemy, otherwise he vows to emulate his predecessor Nadir Shah. The garrison of Herat is 12,000; 2,000 are set apart for sallies, and 4,000 for night duty, and during the day the whole garrison is on duty at once. In the city wheat is sold at half a rupee the maund, and in the camp half a rial the maund. It was before sold at two rials the maund; but Shamsodeen, since his arrival, has disclosed and appropriated the secret granaries of the neighbourhood for the besieging army; he is out all day on forage; the western fronts of the city are invested; the Persian works have been carried on there to the crest of the glacis; and Mahamad Shah has ordered his younger brother from Tabreez to invest the eastern fronts. There is a Persian detachment at Meer Daood, 12 miles to the east of Herat. Saloo Khan has not joined the Persians. Shamsodeen has put to death 25 Sayads, and offered indignity to their wives. An elchy has arrived from Orgunge promising the aid of 24,000 Uzbaks. Several mines had been driven by the Persians, which were all countermined, or otherwise destroyed, except one driven by a Russian in the Shah's employ, which was successful in breaking a tower, and an assault was made by the Persians, which proved unsuccessful, they losing 3,000 men killed, 500 taken prisoners, 500 matchlocks and 2 guns. No more than 25 of the inhabitants have been killed by the shells thrown into the town. Parties from Farrah and Sabzwar surprise and bring off camels, &c. &c. from the Persian camp.

3. A man of the Sirdars has arrived, 22 days from the Shah's camp, with a letter from the Vizier. I have not seen it, but I hear its contents are, that the Shah is indifferent to the presence of the Sirdar's son in his camp, or to their friendship, since he hears they do not intend to send Mahamad Omer Khan; that his elchy, whom they detained six months, has informed him that they could only muster 4,000 men, and he now appreciates their consequence.

4. On my arrival here I had some doubts of the Sirdars having given up their connexion with Persia; however, two days ago I received a message from Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan, saying he was one with the British Government and his brother at Cabool, and had desisted from all connexion with Persia. I requested to hear this from the Sirdar's own mouth. To-day was appointed for our interview, but owing to the arrival of some letters from Herat, the interview has been postponed.

I have, &c.

(signed) *R. Leech*, Assistant.

Candahar, 5 February 1838.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 1st instant, transmitting extracts from letters from Mr. Lord, reporting the reception which that officer and Mr. Wood met with from the Chief of Koondooz.

1—Sess. 2.

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2. In

2. In reply I am directed to observe, that his Lordship has been much gratified with the account which you have furnished of this interview, evincing as it does the respect in which British officers are held in a quarter where the existence of such a feeling, in the present state of affairs, cannot fail of being advantageous.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to Government of India with the
Governor General.

Camp at Bégumabad, 14 February 1838.

(True copy.)
(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 11th ultimo, reporting latest intelligence of Herat, received by way of Koondooz and Candahar, which are corroborative of Shah Kamran's being in an alarming situation, and stating your impression as to the cause of a Persian force entering Toorkistan to be scarcity of forage near Herat.

2. The Governor General is disposed to concur in the conjecture you have formed as to the cause of the reported expedition, but his Lordship will await with much anxiety the receipt of further intelligence regarding the operations of the Persian army.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

Camp at Begumabad, 14 February 1838.

(True copy.)
(signed) H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, extracts of an extremely interesting nature, from a private letter of Mr. Lord at Koondooz. It will be seen that the disease under which the Chief's brother labours is hopeless, but that the melancholy fact has made no change in Moorad Beg's treatment of the party.

2. The communications which have passed between the Chief of Koondooz and Mr. Lord regarding commerce, and the furthering of it in those countries, cannot fail to prove acceptable; and, at this time, the light in which he hold the Persian invasion of Herat, must also be considered valuable. I have requested Mr. Lord to draw up an official report on the state of Koondooz, for the information of Government.

3. The progress of Mr. Wood is satisfactory, though the winter is severe. He has been to the source of the river of Budukhshan, and by last accounts was 12 days' journey east of Koondooz. His field books, &c. have reached me, and contain much that is novel and interesting; but, in their present state, I do not transmit them to Government.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool,
17 February 1838.

EXTRACTS of a Letter from Mr. Lord, at Koondooz, to the Address of Captain A. Burnes, dated Koondooz, 30 January 1838.

You will be prepared to hear that I have given up my patient's case as hopeless; but the resignation with which this destruction of all his hopes of regaining his sight has been borne, both by himself and Meer Murad Beg, is far greater than either you or I could have anticipated, and, in fact, is such as to do high honour to the Uzbek character. I had from the first declared the case to be one of extreme difficulty, and latterly told him that one after another of my remedies had proved ineffectual, and that the slight hope I originally might have had was daily becoming less. My final announcement he anticipated by sending me a message on the evening of the 17th, to this effect: He felt it was written in his destiny that he was not to recover his sight; he was satisfied I had done everything possible, but that he was now resigned to the will of God, and content to go back to his own house, convinced that a cure was not to be expected. These were so nearly my own sentiments on the matter, that I did not offer much opposition; I said, if he wished for my advice it was this: that he should persist in his remedies 20 days longer, within which time, if there was no amendment, I was hopeless; but that if he determined on going now, I had little to say against it, as my hopes of ultimate improvement were now very slight. I added, it would be well he should think it over for the night, and that in the morning I would call and hear his decision. With these words I dismissed the mission, which consisted of Mousa Yessawul (the Governor of Khanabad, at which we were), Zohrab Khan (the Governor of Inderah), and a Meerza.

About 8 p.m., having heard that the Meerza had finally determined on submitting to his fate, I went over to take leave of him, and offer such consolations as might occur to me. He expressed himself in every way satisfied with the exertions I had made, and said he was under obligations which he never should forget, and begged I would continue his guest as long as it suited me to remain in the country, every part of which I was at liberty to visit. He added numerous other expressions of kindly feeling, and explained that he had given orders to Mousa Yessawul that all my wishes were to be attended to. He then reverted to his own melancholy condition, and, losing all composure, burst into tears, accusing himself loudly of the many crimes he had committed, and acknowledging the hand of God in the judgment which had now overtaken him. The scene was a strange mixture of the pathetic and the ludicrous. I could not help sympathising sincerely with the poor old man and his son, a fine lad of 15, who shared deeply in his father's grief; but then every broad-faced Uzbek about the room, seeing his chief in tears, thought it incumbent on him to blubber a little also. After the first burst of grief was over, I took on me to be comforter. I said he had undoubtedly committed crimes, as all men had, but then he had also done much that was good; he had cherished the ryot, distributed justice, and I had with my own eyes seen that the people who lived under him were contented and happy. I added, that God had taken away one blessing, but had given him many--lands, houses, children, wealth, and power; that it became him to look on these, not on what was taken away, and to be thankful. I further advised him to have the Koran constantly read to him, and to reflect on the instability of this world; and having so said, I got up and went away.

Next morning the old man returned to Koondooz, and I started to pay my long-promised visit to Moorcroft's Syud.

The village of the holy man is about six miles at the other side of Talikan; in all, 30 miles from Khanabad. I reached it about four in the afternoon, and in dismounting was conducted to a small neatly carpeted apartment, where I was told to expect a visit from the Syud as soon as he should have finished his afternoon devotions. In about half an hour he came. I stooped to kiss his hand in acknowledgment of his sanctity, when he gently raised and embraced me. I then endeavoured to express to him the obligation which I, in common with all Feringees, felt to him for the service he had rendered our ill-fated countryman, Moorcroft, and added, it was a favour none of us should ever forget. I explained to him this was the very first day I had been disengaged since my arrival in Murad Beg's territories, and that I had impatiently awaited the opportunity it afforded me of expressing to him these the common sentiments of my nation. He appeared much gratified, but modestly disclaimed any merit, saying it was not in his power to do much for Moorcroft. He added, it astonished him not a little to find that so trifling an action, as it had appeared to him at the time, should have reached a country so remote and so great as ours. After a little further conversation, in which I had said I had been charged to add your acknowledgments to my own, he retired, and soon after slaves made their appearance, bearing several trays of pitous and sweetmeats, to which my long ride inclined me to do ample justice.

After dinner he again came, and sat with me nearly an hour. The conversation ran chiefly on politics and commerce as connected with India and Persia. Knowing his influence over the mind of Murad Beg, I took occasion to explain to him the objects of your mission, and more particularly the intentions of our Government to establish a great annual fair on the banks of the Indus, and showed the benefits which must arise from this to the Meer, whose country would necessarily be the grand line of communication between Hindoostan and Turkistan. He seemed perfectly to comprehend all my statements, and made several inquiries that evinced his intelligence. He then inquired what I meant to do with myself until the road back should be open. (I had informed him that I had relinquished Mahomed Beg's case as hopeless.) I replied, that if the Meer would permit me, I wished to

to travel a little about his country, as it was the custom of the Feringees to observe every thing that came in their way. He said he had heard this from Moorcroft, and thought I would find no difficulty here.

Before going away he again expressed his astonishment at our being acquainted with what he had done for Moorcroft. "Is it really a fact," said he, "that this is known in Firingestan?" "Wulla bella," said I, "the very children take the name of Syud Mahomed Kusim, the friend of the Feringees." He did not attempt to conceal his satisfaction. "God is great!" said he; "feel my pulse." "Shuki alhum dullillah," said I, "what strength and firmness! If it please God, one-half your life is not yet passed." We stroked our beards, said a "fatha," and the old man departed.

I saw him again in the morning when I was about to return. He had been praying from cockerow until past nine o'clock. He stopped for a few minutes as he passed my door, said a few words of inquiry, asked for some medicines for his eyes, and having ordered breakfast to be brought me, took his leave.

On proceeding to mount I found a handsome young horse, which he had ordered to be presented to me in return for some articles I had given him. A man was also in readiness to show me the salt mines, which I had expressed a wish to see.

Having visited them, I thought it well to make my salaam to the heir apparent (Atalik Beg), as I was in his vicinity. He received me in the same distinguished manner his father had done, standing outside his own door, with all his court drawn up around him, placed me in the highest seat, and at my departure presented me with a horse and khilut. The first two tricks being thus clearly won, I thought it proper to lose no time in going to Kundooz and ascertain my fate there.

The day after my arrival (22d January) I had visits from Atma and Meerza Budecar, who both assured me that the Meer's friendly disposition towards me was not in the least altered by the result of his brother's case, which he said was his destiny. Atma further added, that Mahomed Beg, my patient, in passing through, had spoken of me in the highest terms, as not only possessing professional skill, but as being perfectly acquainted with good manners, and as having paid him every possible attention. This is all as it should be.

I had explained to both my visitors, separately, the views of our Government respecting the fair on the Indus; but as I wished it more particularly to be brought to the attention of the Meer, and to elicit his views respecting it, I presented Meerza Budecar with this plain statement of the advantages which such an event would bring to his master: "3,000 camel loads go annually from Bokhara to Russia; the value of the goods they carry is 32 lakhs. If these went to our fair in the Indus they must pass through your master's country. His present rate of taxation is 12 rupees; a camel would levy him in 36,000 rupees annually, and he would have the same in the returns made from India; or if he took a 'chehil yek'* on the above declared value, then it will amount to 80,000 rupees cash; and this without any expense, trouble or difficulty to the Meer, save that his rate of taxation should be moderate, and his part of the road kept free from robbers, as it in fact already is. As for the rest," I said, "our friendship with the rulers of Kabul and Kandahar, the Punjaub, Bhawalpore and Sindh made all safe, and our extensive command of shipping and facilities of manufactures, insured our being able to supply the merchant with better and at a cheaper rate than he now procured them from Russia, after a painful and hazardous journey." After some parley the Mirza perfectly understood the account, and asked "If my master is accountable for the safe passage of goods from the duria i Puni (Oxus) to Bunnucan, will your Government then become answerable for the rest of the road?" "Undoubtedly," said I, "if you ask my private opinion; but it is a question which I have no public authority to answer. Sikunder Burnes has; and, if your Meer wishes me, I will send it to him and get an answer, which shall be sure."

I then said, as I was then unemployed, I would, if it was the Meer's pleasure, go for a few days to Khooloom, and afterwards to Kolab, where I understood coal was to be found.

Next morning Meerza Budecar returned. He said he had, at a private audience, explained to the Meer our views in establishing the bazaar on the Indus, the great resort of merchants it would bring to his country, and asked how far it met his views, and how far he would be answerable for the goods passing through his dominions. The Meer, he said, expressed his entire satisfaction, and added that if one "pool" (the lowest copper coin) were lost from Muzar to Bamecan, he would replace it.

He said I was at full liberty to visit Khooloom or any other part of his territories, but he demurred about Kolab, as he said the people were "very dogs," and he did not like to trust me into their hands; but he sent me a specimen of the "black stone" which I was anxious to see, and which he had got from that country, without knowing its use. The specimen seems to be of the kind termed "compact wood-coal" (a variety of the Bavey coal of England); distinctly shows the fibrous texture; burns with a strong bituminous smell; emits much heat, particularly if broken small and made into cakes; is heavy; leaves much ashes; and though not itself a first quality coal, yet affords strong presumptive evidence, particularly if viewed in connexion with the geological facts after mentioned, that better may be found in its vicinity.

The Mirza also brought me a message to say that the Meer wished to pay all the travelling expenses I had been at in coming here. I replied, that was out of the question. I had come here to evince the friendly disposition of my Government towards him; if friendship between the two States resulted, my end was gained; expense was no object.

Having thus prepared the way, I thought I might venture on a visit to the great man,
and

and on doing so, had the satisfaction to find my reception exactly the same as usual. After a few general inquiries, the Meer said, "Well, so Mahomed Beg's case is hopeless; you have done everything that could be done, but we see it is not in his destiny. Don't feel uncomfortable (khufa) about it." I acknowledged his kindness in taking this view of the case, and we then spoke of the Syud of Talikan, on whose piety and kindness to myself I enlarged. He asked if there were any such men in my country. I replied, there were but few such men in the whole world.

We then turned to mines, and I expressed my astonishment to learn that he derived no revenue from his salt mines. Runjeet Sing, I said, made six lakhs a year of his; and explained that he had shut up all that were in his territories, except one, which he himself worked. "Ah!" said the Meer, "but I fear God too much to do that." I observed, it was singularly great "ryot purwarish,"* very much to his honour.

He asked about the black stone he had sent me. "It promised well," I said, "but it was not sufficient that I should see a specimen; I must see how it lies in the ground before I could give an opinion as to whether it was in proper quality and quantity or not." "Ah!" he said, "but it is in Kolab, and the men there are great 'haramzadahs,' rogues. They would gladly seize you, as they think all Feringees can make gold, and so I should be disgraced, for now you are my guest." I made my acknowledgments, and he continued: "No, don't go there, but anywhere else in my whole dominions; some of the mines are now covered up by snow, but in spring I'll show them all to you, and wherever you decide it would be profitable to work, half shall be yours and half mine." I returned all due thanks for this offer, but declared the credit of finding them was all I required, and that the profit should be all his. As for myself, I said I was a servant of my King's, who paid me amply, and who had sent me here to evince his friendly feeling towards the Uzbeks. This was received most graciously; and I mentioned my wish, if I had his leave, to go for a few days to Tush Koorghum. He immediately assented, and said he would send a man with me, as the road was sometimes infested by the Sukhais. He asked when I intended to start, and I said not for four or five days, as I would remain here until I received letters from Bulkli and Kabul, which I was expecting.

* Cherishing of subject.

Two days after my visit, Meerza Budeear came to me with a long string of interrogatories, and, at the risk of being tedious, and to avoid the worse evil of not being explicit in everything relating to a new people, I must tell them to you.

"You know," said the Murza, "I always tell you whatever the Meer says, and last night he said, 'How is this? The Feringees have sent and made friends with Dost Mahomed Khan; why have they not sent to make friends with me?'" "This," said I, "is very easy. Dost Mahomed Khan has, for several years, been most anxiously soliciting our friendship; has written several letters to the Governor General, and has done everything to evince a friendly disposition towards us. Your Meer has never written to ask our friendship; how, then, should my Government know that he wishes it?" "However," said I, "my presence here is a full proof that we are one, as I am merely a servant of Government, and could not have come here without orders." "The answer is good," said he, "I will tell it to the Meer."

He then made some inquiries, as if he wished to elicit whether we had any views of extending our territories in this direction. "Wulla billa," said I, "if your Meer were to offer us his whole country as a present, we would not take it." I found considerable difficulty in satisfying him on this point, until at last I said, "What does your Meer get from Woehan?" "Nothing," said he. "And why?" replied I. "Because they very distant." "For the same reason," said I (spreading before him a map, and showing the situation of Hindoostan and Koondooz), "we should never get anything from your country which would make it worth the trouble of taking or the expense of preserving 'khoob.'" "Well," said he, "now I understand perfectly."

He next inquired what benefit Dost Mahomed Khan was to receive from our friendship. "One obvious benefit," said I, "that he is already relieved from the war with the Sikhs." "But if the Persians came," said he, "would you help him?" "That entirely depends on the treaty to be made with him," said I, "of the nature of which I know nothing; but if we declare ourselves his friends, it is not likely the Persians will attack him." "Why should the Persians mind you," said he; "what could you do?" "Do?" said I; "if there were necessity, of course we could send an army that would soon drive the Persians back." "Pho!" said he, "your army would take six months or a year to come." "If it pleased God," said I, "we could send you one in six weeks." "Own!" said he, as if completely taken aback by this information; "for God's sake, how?" "You have heard," said I, "of ships that move by steam and can sail without wind." "Yes," said he. "Well," resumed I, again referring to the map, "15 days will bring such a ship from Bombay, which you see here, to the mouth of the Indus, which is there, and 25 more from that to Dera Ghaze Khan; so that in 40 days our army would be in readiness to act."

I have since had no further questions, but if you now cast your eye over the above, and connect their obvious tendency with the mental dread of the Persian invasion, which is at present felt through all these countries, you will, I think, clearly see that they have been casting about for a resource in case of the worst; and the idea of the bare possibility of an alliance with the Feringees having once entered into their contemplation, though it may lead to no immediate result, is yet, I think you will agree with me, a step of no slight importance gained amongst a people so rude and hitherto so hostile to our very name.

And now, as regards these Persians, I am mortified beyond measure at having nothing

this is confirmed
eight days after.
(signed) *A. Burnes.*

to send you beyond the reports of this place. These bear that a Persian force is undoubtedly at Meemuna, and that the Meer, unable to resist, has made a treaty. The terms of these are stated in a twofold way; one, that it merely goes to establish the boundaries to be observed between Meemuna and the Persians when they have taken Herat; the other, that, in addition to this, the Meer has ceded to the Persians a free passage through his dominions to Bulk. This latter, I am inclined to think, is true, and so does Morad Beg, for he has been engaged these last ten days in mustering his troops, while all his Surdars are doing the same at their several head quarters.

My old friend Meerza Rahmut tells me that an elchee is every day expected here from Bokhara, to propose a joint attack on the Persians: "And what is to be your answer?" said I. "If they'll give us Bulk," said he, "we'll join them, and fight; if not, we'll stay at home, and defend our own country when it is attacked."

I have not yet heard of the coal you mention in Budukhsan, but I have got coal from a much better place, from Kolab, not one day's journey from the opposite bank of the Oreus. And better still, the whole country about here is of the red marble formation, the same in which the great coal fields of England occur; and, still further, the hill from which this coal is brought is immediately backed by the rich and valuable lead mines of Buljearan, exactly as the lead measures of Northumberland back the coal measures of Newcastle. You may suppose how impatient I am to get across the river.

(True extracts.)

(signed)

Alex. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE not addressed you since the 22d ultimo regarding the Russian Agent at this city; not that I have been inattentive or indifferent to his proceedings here, for, [by expresses from yourself and Mr. McNeill, dated respectively the 1st January and 31st of October,] I find that there is no doubt of Captain Vickovitch's real character, and that all the early surmises regarding him have been thus confirmed.

2. The interval has not, however, passed without the most strenuous exertions on the part of Mr. Vickovitch to draw from the Ameer of Cabool some answer to the credentials and letters which he had brought. He urged that if a decided answer were called for by him, it might be held unreasonable; but that he had now been here for a period of nearly two months, and that it was due to those from whom he came to acknowledge the receipt of the letters which he had delivered. Dost Mahomed Khan sent for Mr. Vickovitch on the 10th instant, when he repeated his reasons for wishing replies, and which, [as I shall shortly show,] the Ameer agreed to give.

3. The mode of forwarding them naturally formed the first subject of conversation after the Ameer's consent to reply, and he pointed out the route of Bokhara as the speediest and best line of communication; but to this Mr. Vickovitch objected, saying that they could be much more rapidly transmitted through Mr. Goutte, in the Persian camp at Herat, who, besides being his countryman and personal friend, was an accredited agent of the Russian Government. To this the Ameer saw no objections, but he decided not to address the Shah of Persia.

[4. The Ameer then proceeded to state to Mr. Vickovitch the honour which had been conferred upon him by the receipt of a letter from the Emperor of Russia, but that an equal honour he had also received from the Governor General of India, who had previously sent a mission to this country; that the object of that mission, if successful, was all that he could desire, since peace would be restored, and he would no longer be menaced and disturbed by the bitter enemy of his power, the Ruler of Lahore. As yet, however, nothing had been settled; and when the result was known, it would be time enough to arrange for Mr. Vickovitch's dismissal, when he would send a trusty person along with him to acknowledge the compliment.]

5. The Ameer next inquired of Mr. Vickovitch if he had received any intelligence from the Russian gentleman at Herat; which he had not. He then stated

stated his own views regarding Herat, that it must certainly submit in the end to Persia, for Kanran had no such promised assistance to oppose the Shah as would avail him. Mr. Vickovitch replied that the Persian army was not a very efficient body, but that it had an excellent park of artillery, and that the fall of Herat was very probable, and the more so, as the Shah was secure in his possessions behind him, and that the Government of Russia had further added to that security by throwing troops east of the Caspian Sea, to keep the Toorkmuns in check. The Ameer replied, that with such protection, even the Shah of Persia could not have succeeded but for the supineness of himself and his brothers at Candahar, for they had it in their power to succour Herat; [but the British Government, by which they wished to be guided, had given them no encouragement or advice to do so. I need not add that this conversation, and the repetition of the auxiliaries of Russia having been thrown to the east of the Caspian Sea (which I see Mr. McNeill contradicts), goes far to confirm Dost Mahomed Khan that Herat will not hold out.] The interview then terminated.

6. I further learn [from Mirza Samee Khan], that Mr. Vickovitch has been discoursing at length on the policy of Persia herself, and of the British Government in that country. He stated that the English, by disciplining the troops of Persia, had hoped to injure Russia, but the very opposite consequence had resulted; that Persia had attacked Russia, and been defeated, which had enabled her to possess herself of some of her best and frontier provinces, and to establish a complete influence over the kingdom; that Russia had no desire, however, to make any further conquests in Persia, or to allow the Shah to extend his power beyond Herat, for she wished to keep Persia in check, and not that she should become too powerful. He further told the Mirza to inform the Ameer on these points, and that he and his brothers might feel assured that this Persian expedition against Herat would stop there, and not prosecute its march farther to the east.

7. [The Ameer sent Mirza Samee Khan to report all that had passed, and] I took the opportunity to request that he would inform the Ameer that if Mr. Vickovitch spoke on the authority of the Russian Government, it had certainly misunderstood our proceedings in Persia: that we had never sought to injure Russia, through Persia, or aught but to make Persia strong in herself, for which purpose we had from time to time given her munitions of war and officers, but we had never countenanced her invading either Russia or Afghanistan; and he saw in our present disapproval of the siege of Herat a proof of the correctness of these facts. [The Mirza assented, and he said that the Ameer would likewise do so to our views. Mirza Samee Khan then produced the letters No. 1 and 2, in original, that had been addressed to the Emperor of Russia and Count Simonitch, the Russian Ambassador at the Court of Persia, which I received without any particular remark, wishing to have time to weigh and consider the course which I should follow on such an occasion, rendered more than delicate by the absence as yet of all instructions as to how I should shape my proceedings.]

No. 1 and 2,
English and Per-
sian.

8. After having carefully translated into English the letters in question, it did appear to me that they were objectionable in several ways. After a lapse of two months I did not well see how the Ameer could refuse to acknowledge the receipt of the Russian letters, which were certainly more than complimentary; but the avowal of sending a return agent, though it was only what every independent chief would think it his duty, was not a very palpable avowal under the present state of affairs with the British Government. It was true that the Ameer had told Mr. Vickovitch that we had it in our power to do for him all that he desired, and that, when that was done, he would be bound to the British, and it would be then easy for us to inform him that any communication whatever with Russia could on no account be permitted. The present, however, was not the time for me to take that course, as if I had been unsuccessful in my remonstrance, it would have only gone to alienate the Ameer from us, and gain for Russia what she desired.

9. Under these feelings I sent for Mirza Samee Khan, and proceeded to put the matter in the light of our being indifferent as to what the Ameer wrote to the Russian Government, but that it would be well for Dost Mahomed Khan to consider how far the reply which he had made might not prove injurious to him, and alienate those who were his well-wishers; for, after the promises given, he would offend Russia if he did not send the agent at the appointed time,

and

and if he did then send him after the British Government had befriended him, he would offend it; that as a well-wisher of his Government and that of his brothers, it would be, in my opinion, a much more prudent course for the Ameer of Cabool to suspend his communications with Russia, as he had already done with Persia, till he learned the final views of the British. It was certain that Russia and England would not both assist him, and by any precipitate act he might find himself insulted and deprived of the good offices of both. If courtesy required an acknowledgment of the Emperor's letter, of which the Ameer was the best judge, he might confine himself simply to acknowledging its receipt, and saying that he had detained Captain Vickovitch on account of the roads being blocked up by snow; and thus, when winter had passed over, he might take those measures which a maturer weighing of the matter dictated; and, finally, that if the Ameer, by his present letters, sought to quicken the Governor General in his proceedings, he was acting under impressions of a very erroneous nature, and which were calculated to operate, in all probability, in a manner contrary to what he expected.

10. Mirza Samee Khan assured me that nothing would give the Ameer greater pain than to take any step which would be displeasing to the British, and that the friendly part which I had acted in pointing out what was exceptional in the letters would, he was sure, be duly appreciated. The promise to send a return agent with Captain Vickovitch was struck out of the letter. The Amir sent him to inform me that he had also ordered all that portion of it which relates to Peshawar and the differences between the Afghans and Sikhs to be removed. The importance of these alterations will best appear in the letters annexed, where I have most particularly marked them. The only part of the message which the Ameer sent to me that requires further notice was, that he could not really be answerable, under the state of excitement which existed in these countries, beyond nowraz (the equinox), and he trusted that a definite answer by that time would be given to him, that he might know how to shape his course, and act as best suited his interests.

11. Ever since the arrival of the agent of Russia, and more especially since the announcement of the views of Government regarding Peshawur, and the delays in coming to an adjustment upon it, the Kuzzilbash faction have redoubled their exertions to instil doubt into the mind of the Ameer, and alienate him from us. After the news of Herat, which arrived on the 12th instant, two of them, Mahomed Khan Byat and Aga Hoosein (who, though not very influential men among the Juwansheers, are still Shiah, and the Ameer's counsellors), pointed out to him "that the British Government meant to do nothing, as was evident in their delay; that but for the presence of a British agent in Cabool, all his ends might have been gained; he could have assisted Mahomed Shah, and got, in return, assistance at Peshawur, with many other benefits, probably including the cession of Herat itself, all of which had been neutralised by Captain Burnes' presence; and that this was the more remarkable as that officer had made no promises whatever, but simply stated the sympathy which his Government entertained, which might mean nothing." I have been well aware, from various channels, that such was the scope of argument taken up by this faction, for I had it from the Nawab and several of the frequenters of the Durbar, but I relied on the good sense of the chief to keep him in the course that he was pondering.

12. When discussing the contents of the letters to Russia, Mirza Samee Khan told me of what is stated in the preceding paragraph, and that a few days ago the Ameer had privately asked him his opinion regarding these sentiments of the Kuzzilbash faction, stating at the same time, though it was true he might reap advantages from going over at the present time to Mahomed Shah, that his better judgment led him to cling firmly to the British, and the more so as their agent was here by his own solicitation, and that he had every hope and reliance in his differences being adjusted, though it was lamentable to sit by and see the bulwark of the Afghan nation broken down at Herat, without a struggle or an effort on the part of a people who had always successfully resisted Persia.

13. Mirza Samee Khan, though himself of Persian extraction, informed me that he assured the Ameer that the Kuzzilbashes sought to make him a dependent of Persia, and that the British had no such design, which of itself formed a very great difference between the value of the alliances. He further brought to the Ameer's remembrance the style of address which the Shah of Persia had assumed towards him in finding his "rukum" or order as a proof of the vassalage which

which would be expected; to which the Ameer replied, that such was certainly his own opinion. From the mortification of pride which Dost Mahomed Khan has experienced by this blunder (for such it must be considered) on the part of Persia, in her mode of address to an independent chief, I should not be at all surprised if the Kuzzilbash faction had made it known to the Shah, that it may be rectified. Were it to be so, the Ameer would lose one of his best arguments in combating those who encourage him to lean upon Persia for assistance.

14. Under all these circumstances it may be naturally expected how anxiously I look for the commands of Government to guide me. Captain Vickovitch informs the Ameer that the value of the rarities sent to him by the Emperor amounts to 60,000 rupees; and the opposing faction have not failed to contrast this with the few trifles which I presented to him, and to adduce it as a proof of the indifference of a nation famed, and above all in Afghanistan, for its liberality. I could tell them that my gifts were as from myself, and as such by no means unworthy, nor, till Captain Vickovitch made his appearance, were they thought so; but, perhaps, as the public man is never separated from the private individual in these countries, my arguments might silence, but still want weight.

15. I have only in conclusion to report, that I have had no further communication with this Russian agent than asking him, a few days after his arrival, to dinner, in return for his call. I found that he expected I would visit him, and etiquette may have required it; but I saw that an importance was attached to the visit, and it might lead to misconstruction, to a belief of our halting between two opinions, of our wishing to conciliate Russia, when, as I hope and believe, we shall openly resist her in all her intrigues and attempts upon this country. At the hazard, therefore, of failing in what society requires of its members, I have thought it advisable to shun every appearance of intercourse with Mr. Vickovitch; and I do not attribute too much when I state that this humble endeavour has gone far to discredit him with many in Cabool, and, except in the reply to the letters which he has now got, led almost to slight on the part of Dost Mahomed Khan.]

Cabool,
18 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

[TRANSLATION of a Letter from Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, the Chief of Kabul, to the address of the Emperor of *Russia*.

A. C.,

IN a most precious time I had the honour to receive the highly valued letter which your Imperial Majesty had graciously sent to me through your trusty agent, Captain Vickovitch.

I was greatly rejoiced by learning its auspicious contents, which exhibited your Majesty's kindness and sympathy towards me. It gave me every reliance upon, and hope from, your Imperial Majesty. Truly your dignified Government and exalted mind are the sources of this praiseworthy generosity and the friendly recollection with which you have recently honoured me. These welcome and happy tidings have been spread throughout the whole of this nation.

Before the arrival of your Imperial letter, the respectable Captain Alexander Burnes came to Cabool, on the part of the English Government, and is endeavouring to adjust matters, and make peace and settle boundaries between Runjeet Singh, the ruler of Punjab, and myself, so that the Sikhs should leave Peshawur and this side of the Indus in future to the Afghans, and that they, the Afghans, likewise should not interfere with the other side of that river. Nothing is as yet settled, but the result must be known about the vernal equinox.

The underlined part has been struck out

If it please God, after the winter is at an end, and the roads are open, I will dismiss your Majesty's agent, Captain Vickovitch, along with my own man, who will inform your Imperial Majesty of all circumstances.

I do not presume to say anything more, except that your Imperial Majesty may long live to adorn the Throne of your celebrated empire.]

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, Chief of Cabool, to the address, His Excellency Count *Simonich*, the Russian Ambassador at the Court of Persia.

A. C.,

Your friendly letter, [along with that of his Majesty the Emperor (Imperatoor)], was delivered to me by the respectable Captain Vickovitch, and I was delighted to read this your second epistle.

If I were to thank [the Emperor] for such kindness, it would be as impossible as to confine the river in a small vessel, or to weigh its water with stones.

I fully understood the messages which you had sent to me through Captain Vickovitch, and confidently expect that your Imperial Government will support and defend my honour, and, by doing so, it will be easy to win the heart of friends.

I thank you for the offer you made to arrange my affairs, and further, for your informing me that you do not merely tell me so, but that you will fulfil your promise. I expect much more from your friendly Government, and my hopes have been increased. Though the distance between us is great, it does not prevent our approach in heart. My mind is put in peace by your friendly messages, and I hope it will continue so.

Struck out.

Before the arrival of the agent of your Government (Captain Vickovitch), the English Government had deputed Captain Alexander Burnes, and who is now with me in Kabul. That officer is sowing the seeds of friendship between Runjeet Singh and myself, [and it is expected that the Sikhs, leaving Peshawur to the Afghans, will not in future cross the Indus (Atrok)]. Nothing is yet settled, but let us wait the result.

Struck out.

On the winter ceasing, and the roads opening, I will despatch Captain Vickovitch, [along with my own agent,] by any road that he prefers. At present, on account of the snow, I have postponed his departure.

I hope you [will kindly send my letter to his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, and also that you yourself] may continue to enjoy happy days.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I LOSE no time in reporting, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that Maimuna is in the hands of the Persians, and that the whole of the small states west of Balkh, and in its neighbourhood, Shilbegaum, Andohee, &c., have also submitted to that power. I received a messenger in the course of yesterday from Khooloom, and late at night an express from Dr. Lord, dated the 8th inst., with two other letters from people in my service, corroborating the information, and stating that there had been an action between the Persians and Shere Mohomed Khan Huzareh, when the latter was defeated with great slaughter, which opened the road to Maimuna, on which the Persians immediately marched.

2. The same express brings information that Kamran sent his own son to implore the aid of the King of Bokhara, who has declined to assist Herat, and desired the prince precipitately to leave the city. The Khan of Orgunge has, however, left Khiva, and is understood to have taken direction of Herat.

3. The object of Persia in seizing Maimuna is apparent enough, since it was one of the quarters on which Herat could rely for aid. The state of that petty chiefship was described in my report of the 7th inst., and that it, and those adjacent to it, should have fallen so easy a victim was to be anticipated.

4. Herat is thus deprived of all aid from Bokhara, Maimuna, &c., and Koondooz, Cabool, Kandahar, also can render it no assistance, for the Shah marched in the expectation that they would assist him; they contribute to his success in some degree, since he is freed from apprehension of their opposition.

5. Putting

5. Putting all these things together, it is the general opinion in this city that the ultimate fate of Herat is inevitable, and, from what has taken place, I fear these surmises will prove well-founded. Mr. MacNeill doubted at the outset if the Shah could reach Herat. Colonel Stoddart described the dissatisfaction of the army after it had reached Khorasan, and, in face of all this, the Shah has made good his march, invested Herat, and destroyed all hope of its being succoured. Its fall, therefore, is now a matter of time: Nadir Shah took 14 months to capture it; but he had a less serviceable park of artillery than Mahomed Shah, which is, perhaps, the only really efficient part of his army: the reason is obvious; it was equipped by British officers, and chiefly furnished, I believe, by the British Government: I saw it in the autumn of 1832, when in Khorasan; and this arm, so important in a siege, struck me as very superior.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool,
20 February 1838.

(True copy.)
(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with the Govr. Genl.

To *W. H. Marnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your important express of the 23d ultimo, from Barielly, which arrived in the course of yesterday evening. The explicit instructions therein conveyed, have been received by me at an important juncture, with a satisfaction in proportion to the regret that any part of my proceedings should meet with the disapproval of the Governor General. This has occasioned to me the most deep concern.

2. When I made the proposals which I did to the Chiefs of Candahar, I was aware that they would be as a dead letter, and the contents of my despatch of the 21st ultimo, which contained a reply to them, will have removed every anxiety upon that subject, and left things in the state as if no promises had been made, without compromising my superiors or myself. I have, however, considered it due to Government to do away with impressions which such offers have possibly left in the mind of those chiefs by addressing to them the letter No. 2, now annexed. It will be seen that it is in reply to a most extraordinary communication, No. 1, on the part of the Sirdars of Candahar, sent through me to the Ameer, which, if they had not of themselves declared pecuniary assistance unnecessary, would in itself have justified its being withheld, even had it been the policy to grant it. I need not trouble Government with any remarks on this unmeaning communication further than what I have said of it in writing to Candahar; and that I expressed my surprise at its contents to the Ameer, who had perused it with feelings very short of indignation.

3. I beg to assure his Lordship that I shall strictly conform to the instructions which have been issued to me regarding Candahar, as well as Cabool. I now know that it is on another field, and the one most favourable to us, that our power to ward off danger must be exercised. I saw around me many agitating and difficult circumstances, and I attached a high importance to keeping Candahar in our interests, as well from the near approach of Persia to it, as the intrigues which the Russian and Persian Governments had both set on foot at that chiefship. I entertain the belief, that if we keep our footing in Cabool, and Herat falls, the presence of Mr. Leech alone will prevent the Shah of Persia from attacking Candahar, which is an important point gained; but I did not see how I could have deputed that officer there without having made some such promise, or at least offers of protection to the chiefs; though I must humbly observe that I by no means bring forward this excuse in justification of what has not received the confirmation of the Governor General. If Candahar escapes, we shall owe it to the moral influence which we possess in these countries, and the belief that we have made some arrangements with its chiefs—an impression which Mr. Leech's presence will give rise to, and which may be encouraged without committing us.

4. On the other matters contained in your letter regarding Cabool, &c., I shall shortly address you.

Cabool,
22 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the three Chiefs of Candahar to the Address of the Ameer of Cabool, received 21st February 1838, and sent through Captain Burnes.

A. C.

WE have lately written to you all the circumstances of Herat, which we hope you have perused. If succour is not quickly given to Herat, all endeavours will prove useless hereafter. Make the arrangements shortly with Captain Burnes, as there is no more time to deliberate.

We have had conversation with Lieutenant Leech on the affairs of this country, and told him that if Peshawur falls into the hands of Sirdar Sooltan Mahomed, we, along with you, (the Ameer) will subdue the countries of Herat, Shikarpoor and Sinde, and divide the revenue between you and ourselves, and consider you the head of the family, and also the commander of our troops.

In case Peshawur comes into the possession of you (the Ameer), then we must be left sole masters of Shikarpoor, and its dependencies. In the other countries we will do according to your commands, and you will also get a share of their revenue.

You should not fancy that we make the proposal on account of the small revenue of Candahar; but we have reflected on some other consequences, which we believe you know very well.

Let us know always of your health and circumstances of that quarter.

(True translation.)

(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

LETTER from Captain *Burnes* to Sirdars Kohin Dil, Rahim Dil, Mihi Dil Khan, Chiefs of Candahar, dated Cabool, 22 February 1838.

A. C.

A FEW days ago I had the pleasure to write to you, and I heard yesterday from Mr. Leech all which has passed between him and you. I also received the letter which you there enclosed for the Ameer, and understood its contents. I have instructed Mr. Leech to tell you several things in reply; but what you state regarding Sinde, and Shikarpoor, and Herat, I make no concealment in telling you that it is totally impossible any such wishes can be listened to. The rulers of Sinde are our friends, and we sympathize with the misfortunes of the brave Afghans of Herat.

I formerly wrote to you that if the Persians attacked Candahar, and you became our friends, we should protect you; I did this from my own reflection, as I truly sympathized with you, and believed it would not displease my masters. In reply to my letter, you informed me that you were in no fear from the Persians, and required no money on that account. This is fortunate; for had I given you the money, I find that I would in doing so have exceeded the instructions of the Governor General, and that I have held out hopes which his Lordship does not approve of. This is not the mode in which the British Government can best serve you.

Mr. Leech, who is with you, has told you that the result of my final settlement between the Sikhs and Afghans must prove of great benefit to you. If it does not take place, the result may be ruinous to all Afghans. There is no comparison between the power of the Kájárs and Sikhs. The British Government have no design of subverting your power for the benefit of another: it wishes to see peace in this country, and that one chief does not molest another. All your designs on other places, and all your reliance on other powers, must therefore be abandoned, if you wish its friendship, and you must repose confidence in its good offices alone: if you do not, it cannot serve you.

I have received a reply from the Governor General regarding Peshawur. It will not be given to the Ameer; and its being restored to Sooltan Mahomed Khan and his brothers, depends upon the disposition which the Ameer and yourselves show to be grateful for our good offices with our old and faithful ally, Maharaja Runjeet Singh.

(True copy.)

(signed) *A. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

[I HAVE now the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, the result of my proceedings, as far as they have gone, consequent on the arrival of your express of the 20th ultimo, which I yesterday acknowledged.

2. The mode in which the Ameer of Cabool received the views of Government concerning Peshawar, as reported in my letter of the 26th ultimo, and the proceedings of the Russian agent, as stated on the 18th instant, rendered the arrival of his Lordship's instructions more than satisfactory; for the time had arrived for a very frank and clear explanation with the Chief of Cabool, and I lost no time in coming to an understanding with him.

3. It will be seen, in the 10th paragraph of my last Despatch (dated the 18th instant) regarding Captain Vickovitch, that the Ameer had professed his inability to wait longer than the vernal equinox, if an adjustment were not made regarding Peshawar, and that this too had been stated in reply to my observations about sending a return agent to Russia. Had I followed my own inclination, I would not have sat down for a day under such a declaration, but I was ignorant of the light in which Government would view Captain Vickovitch's presence at Cabool; and affairs to the west were getting every day more complicated, the Persians having not only held their position before Herat, but overrun Maimuna and the adjacent States, being now actually without any people between them and Cabool itself, excepting the Huzarees, who are all of the Shiah persuasion, and linked by religion and alliance to the Kuzzilbash faction in this city.

4. Any withholding of what were his Lordship's decided views regarding Cabool, would have been as unjust to the Ameer as to ourselves, and] I had become meanwhile informed of the further communications of Captain Vickovitch, which went to inform the Ameer that the Emperor of Russia was supreme in his dominions, and could act of himself with promptitude, and without being delayed by consulting others, while the British Government transacted its business by a council (punchyet), which gave rise to procrastination, and would show to him the advantage of allying himself to Russia, where no such inconvenience existed, and further, that the Emperor's good-will towards him would never then let Persia encroach in this quarter. [If these sentiments had any weight with Dost Mahomed Khan, it followed that our position here was of little value, and that every day's delay rendered it less so, setting aside the valid objection that the Ameer could never be permitted to play off Russia against us, in any terms that he might make.

5. Under these circumstances, I resolved at once to deliver to him the Governor General's letter, since it contained an explicit statement of our sentiments and intentions which he had so much courted, and on the absence of which he founded his grounds for retaining Captain Vickovitch at Cabool. I sought an interview with the Ameer, and was immediately invited to the Bala Hissar yesterday, when the explanation took place.

6. I at once informed Dost Mahomed Khan that I had come to communicate with him on matters of grave importance. I briefly ran over the events which had brought me to Cabool, and the primary objects connected with it; how we sought to improve his and our own commerce by friendly intercourse; how an unfortunate conflict had meanwhile taken place between Maharaja Runjeet Sing and himself; how that chief had been disposed to act in harmony with the British Government regarding a removal of future differences near Peshawar, though that was a question to be decided wholly by the Maharaja himself; how the Ameer had received this proposed alteration, and the offers he had in consequence made. During the deliberation which these matters required, continued I, the Persians have invaded Khorasan, invested Herat, and disturbed men's minds in these countries, of which the Kuzzilbashes in Cabool had availed themselves to give counsel that was certainly injurious to his interests, and which, if I inferred, as I had a right to do, from what had passed in answering the letters from Russia, had some influence over him, since he had spoken of it, the vernal equinox being the limit to his delay, and after which,

he would transfer hopes to the messages which Captain Vickovitch had delivered to him.

7. With regard to what the Kuzzilbashes had urged upon him, I would remind him that we were a nation freed from religious prejudices, and that we regarded Shiah and Soonees alike, but that the Afghans were a people strongly imbued with the tenets peculiar to the latter, and that he should suspect those who advised acts at variance with national feeling, and suspect them the more when I, who told him so, was a servant of a Government on good terms with Persia, and which was disposed to be on an equally good footing with the Afghans. If it had been to him a source of regret that he must take some measures after the equinox, it was doubly so to me, for we were disposed to intercede in behalf of the Afghan nation, with their formidable opponent the ruler of Lahore, to prevent further strife; but that such good offices did not appear to be appreciated as they deserved. From the affairs of Peshawur, continued I, you have gone suddenly to those of Herat, and what with Persian and Russian emissaries, it is pressed upon you to look to that quarter, and perform a service which would gain for you your objects in Peshawur. These, continued I, are opinions fraught with error and ruin. Could you leave Cabool to aid or to resist the Shah of Persia, with a Sikh force in Peshawur amounting to 35,000 men? It is impossible, and the advantages of cultivating an alliance with the British are apparent from the very fact that this formidable power in the eastern frontier had ceased to molest him the moment its agent had entered Afghanistan. I had therefore now to tell him that delay till the vernal equinox was perfectly unnecessary; that he would find the views of the Governor General in the letter which I here presented to him, and which, as his friend and well-wisher, I begged him to read and weigh with the attention they deserved.

8. Before the letter was opened, the Ameer assured me that he placed the alliance of the British Government in no sort of comparison with that of any other nation; that it was true there were those who advised him, as I had stated, but that he put it to me if, in all my frequent intercourse with him, he had of himself uttered such sentiments, and if he had not altered the letters to Russia the moment he knew my opinions, and had even struck out more than the parts to which I had objected. I said that I could fairly acquit him of having expressed any such sentiments, and that I had, from the whole tenor of his conduct since my arrival, become convinced of his being well disposed to my Government, but that the limiting a time to its deliberations, if it passed unnoticed by me to him six days ago, was by no means unobserved, and I did not think it indicative of a tone of thinking which was due to a friendly power that could substantially serve him. He excused himself by saying that he was obliged to give some answer for the honour which had been conferred upon him, and the interest which had been exhibited by Russia deserved acknowledgment, and if he had spoke of "Nouroz" as the time proper for coming to an adjustment, it was that his suspense had led him to use such an expression, as his chiefs and people were constantly taunting him.

9. The letter was now opened, and read over twice with great attention by Meerza Samee Khan, who, excepting Ayha Hoosein, one of his counsellors, and another Meerza, were the only persons present. I explained the import of all those passages which he required. After a short reflection, and some expressions of disappointment, he stated that the Governor General's letter was full of meaning, and that his Lordship's sympathy with the Afghan people was very gratifying, but that he had already expressed his views regarding Peshawar, and unless Government lent its good offices to him, supposing Runjeet Sing to restore it to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, he would suffer materially by it, and through him the people over whom Providence allowed him to rule; that I had made an observation to him regarding his inability to move from Cabool, while peace did not exist on his eastern frontier, which was truth, and which he admitted, but that there was no pressing danger to him from that quarter, and he could stay at Cabool; that he feared the case of the Afghans was like that of most unfortunate people—they had no friends; that he had placed his all in the hands of the British Government, and that, if it blamed him for having written to others, he begged to declare he never would have done so if he had known an agent was to have been sent to Cabool; that though he was unable to do much for himself, he might assist others, and perform very substantial service

service in this quarter for the British Government; that he was now told he was indebted to Runjeet Sing for the dress which he wore, which he could not admit; and further, that he inferred from the letter that it was thought his duty to send presents to Maharaja Runjeet Sing, who had never subdued him, which he certainly did not understand; that it was, however, true that a good-will had subsisted between the British and the Afghans from the days of Mr. Elphinstone downwards, and that our wisdom and word were a theme of praise which led him to reflect seriously on what best suited his interests before he made any answer to the Governor General.

10. I replied that it was a wise course which he meant to pursue in weighing well before he acted, and I would advise him to choose good counsellors before he let slip the opportunity of having the friendly sympathy of the British Government evinced. It was true, I said, that it expected him to live, if not on cordial, most certainly on apparently harmonious terms with Runjeet Sing; but I did not infer that he was to send presents to Lahore, nor did I feel it my duty to counsel any such procedure; but, I added, that if the ruler of Lahore ceases to molest you, peace will naturally follow, and all the happy consequences attendant upon it; that I would now leave him to discuss with his advisers what he should do; but that he must distinctly understand that all communication with Russia, as well as with Persia, must cease, if he expected our good offices; and as he was pleased, in reply, to thank me for the free and friendly mode in which I had communicated the views of Government, I took the occasion to tell him that I, as his well-wisher, and to whom he expressed this satisfaction, would advise him to reflect deeply before he lost the good-will of the British, and that his entering into any political intercourse with others must be considered by us a direct breach of friendship: on this I withdrew.

11. In the afternoon and again this morning, the Ameer sent Meerza Samee Khan to assure me that no measure would be taken, of whatever description, without first consulting myself, and that all communications in every direction would be suspended, as the letter which I had delivered was full of importance, and the Ameer had therefore summoned the Nuwab from his castle at Tutung (near Julalabad), and would send off an express to Candahar to take the counsel of his brothers on what so vitally concerned their common interest. The Meerza then asked, by the Ameer's advice, for my sentiments regarding the kind of letter which should be written to Candahar; and I gave him the greater part of the contents of my letter of yesterday to the Sirdars, those which, with the Ameer's own expressions of astonishment at the contents of the letter lately received by him from the Chiefs of Candahar, will, I suppose, form the Despatch.

12. To this stage I have brought my proceedings, and think it advisable in losing no time to forward this communication, as some days must now elapse before any further step is taken; and I have for the present gained the point of removing all suspense, while everything is permitted to rest *in statu quo*. I did not think it necessary to proceed at once, and tell the Ameer that he must either dismiss Captain Vickovitch or myself; and there is less immediate necessity for this, as it must follow as a matter of course in his adhering to us, which I cannot but think will be the final decision of himself and his advisers. I have also just heard that Captain Vickovitch's messenger, with the Ameer's letters, the copies of which were forwarded to you on the 18th instant, has not started, and that orders have been given to detain them, which is the first symptom of the effect that the announcement has had on Dost Mahomed Khan. The point on which I am likely to be pressed, and which is an important one, is the meaning attachable to "our good offices," in so far as protection from the west is concerned. The consternation at the present time regarding Herat is such that they believe themselves the next victims of Persia if that city falls, which Yar Mahomed Khan, the vizier, plainly tells the Chief of Candahar in the annexed letter that reached Cabool the day before yesterday.]

No. 1.

I have, &c.

Cabool, 23 February 1838.

(signed) Alex. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

[TRANSLATION of a letter from Yar Mahomed Khan, Vizier of Herat, to the Address of Kohin Dil Khan, Chief of Candahar, received at Cabool, 21st February 1838.

A. C.

WHILE in great anxiety to hear from you, the holy Syud Noor Shah entered the city. His jad d horse could not move, and he left him on the road, and came on foot; he also left your letter behind him, but he told me of the messages, that you want me to send my son, Syud Mahomed, to you, and then you will move towards Herat for assistance. You are right in telling me so, and I cannot refuse, in case you wish me to wait upon you, since I consider your house as mine.

It is nearly two months since Herat is besieged, and from no direction has assistance come. The men who were with me are wounded, killed and tired, so I am now obliged myself to take care of the walls, gates, tower and ramparts: how, then, can I send my son, Syud Mahomed, to you? however, if you would send about 300 or 400 horsemen, under the command of some respectable Dooranee or Ghiljee, it would be a source of fame to you, and, considering it an honour and service, I would then instantly send my son to wait upon you.

If you come here, consider this place your house, which it is proper to preserve from the hands of a strong enemy.

If Herat falls into the hands of the enemy (Persians), it is clear Candahar will also come into his possession: the only difference consists in this, that we will be ruined two months before your consternation, which will in the end be as great.

I have given some messages to the Syud, which he will deliver to you, and I hope you will consider them true.]

(A true translation)

(signed) Alex. Burnes,

On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. Torrens,

Dy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, with the Gov. Genl.

To W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

In your letter of the 23d of May last I had the honour to receive the sanction of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council to the discharge of a certain portion of the late Dr. Gerard's debts, amounting to 2,306½ rupees. While the importance of sustaining the high opinion of British honour and good faith in these countries was acknowledged, the Governor General in Council points out the necessity of admitting no claim against Dr. Gerard, except upon full inquiry, and the clearest conviction of its validity.

2. Under such circumstances, I have deemed it my duty to make further and most particular inquiry into the remaining sums due, and I now submit the result, supported by much more valid vouchers than what I expected to find, and which, as far as the sums concerned, seem to me complete.

3. The first of these is a receipt signed and sealed by Dr. Gerard himself, appended hereto in original, and which was given by him to Aga Oosman, a merchant of Herat, whom he referred for payment to the late Mr. William Fraser, at Delhi. The merchant at the same time demanded the further security of Moonshee Mohun Lal's promise to pay, through his father, in Delhi. Mr. Fraser's absence at the time, and Dr. Gerard not having returned, the merchant came upon the Moonshee's father, according to the note, whose bond was in consequence given to merchants, who paid the money, and to whom he is now under stoppages. In return, the original receipt, now enclosed, was surrendered, and carries on the face of it authenticity, since the detailed expenditure of Dr. Gerard is given. Its amount is 460 ducats, which, at 5½ rupees, gives a total of 2,238½ Company's rupees. I underrated this debt in my letter of the 7th of April from Shikarpoor, stating it only at 2,025 rupees.

4. The next item is that of Abdool Alli, of Cabool, and amounting to 500 rupees. This sum was due to Dr. Gerard's servants, Meer Ahmed and Mohamud Heratee, to the one 54 ducats, to the other 38, making a total of 92 ducats, which would give, at the price of the ducat above stated, 6 rupees more than 500; but, the latter was the actual sum paid through the agency of Abdool Ali on account of Moonshee Mohun Lal. The original receipts and translations from Meer Ahmed

and

Sic orig.

No. 1.

Nos. 2 and 3.

and Mohamud Heratee, and which were given at the time, I append, attested by witnesses and Abdool Ali himself on the 24th October 1835.

5. The amount of Moollah Nujeeb's debt has been paid, through Captain Wade, by Government, which disposes of the whole of the claims, except four, which make a total of 1,557 rupees; but as all Dr. Gerard's letters and receipts were burnt with the Moonshee's property on the Indus last year, I can procure no vouchers to place before Government; and though I am under a conviction that they could have been substantiated, I cannot, with the restrictions imposed by Government, solicit their being paid by it.

6. In the Government letter of the 22d of May last, the discharge of 1,912½ rupees on account of Moollah Jullal was authorized, being part of what I had already disbursed. I had at that time transmitted no voucher for the justness of the claim, but I have fortunately now procured one under Dr. Gerard's own hand, the original of which I have seen, and copy of which I annex. I have also at Cabool since seen this merchant, Mulla Jullal, himself, and perused the annexed testimonial, received from Dr. Gerard, and which he allowed me to copy. I am sure it will be found to sustain the just exercise of liberality shown to him, and further the recommendation which I at the outset respectfully made to Government to take these debts, contracted under peculiar circumstances, into its most favourable consideration.

No. 4.

No. 5.

Cabool,
25 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of No. 1.

RECEIPT of ducats from Agha Oosman, of Herat, as undermentioned:

Wine.	Cash.	Cash.	Cash.	Once Cash.
10	-	50	-	105
		40		95.
Cash.	Cossid.	Cossid.	Clothes.	
50	-	25	-	12.

making a total of 407 ducats to be recovered in Delhi. 12th day of January 1833, at Herat

(signed) *J. G. Gerard*,
Surgeon, Bengal Establishment.

(True translation.)

Sealed on
the back.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Receipt from Meer Ahmed, Native of Candahar, who was Servant of the late Dr. Gerard.

I AM Meer Ahmed, native of Candahar.

Having entered the service of Dr. Gerard, I received 46 ducats as my pay, with other 8 ducats (total 54 ducats) from Murza Hu-sa Jan (Mohun Lal).

Nothing is due now to me, and I give this receipt, that in future I should not make any claim.

Written on the 1st Rujub, A. H. 1251, corresponding with 24th October 1835.

(signed) *Meer Ahmed*.

Witness, Shahoulee Tailor. Witness, Abdool Ali.

(True translation.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Receipt from Mahomed, Native of Herat, who was the Servant of the late Dr. Gerard.

I AM Mahomed, native of Herat.

I was nearly three years in the service of Dr. Gerard, and came with him on the salary of 11 rupees per month, or 2 ducats. I received the balance of my pay from Mirza Husa Jan up to the 1st of Rujub, A. H. 1251, which amounted to 38 ducats.

I give these words as my receipt, that in future no claim should be made.

Written 1st Rujub 1251, A. H., corresponding with the 24th October 1835.

(signed) Mahomed, Native of Herat.

Witness, Abdool Ali. Witness, Shavoulee Tailor.

(True translation.)

(signed) Alex. Burnes.

No. 4.

RECEIVED from Moolla Julal the sum of 898 ducats on the interest of 300 ducats. The total is 1,258 ducats, which will be paid to him at Lahore by General Allard.

Candahar,
7 September 1837.

(signed) J. G. Gerard,
Surgeon, Bengal Establishment.

The whole sum of this bill has been paid to Moolla Julal by Mons. Allard, at Lahore, except 360 ducats, as the interest of the principal.

(A true copy.)

Lahore,
20 February 1834.

(signed) C. M. Wade,
Poll. Agent.

(True copy.)

(signed) Alex. Burnes.

No. 5.

THIS attests that Moollah Jailal, a highly respected merchant of Candahar, has rendered me the greatest service as a traveller passing through the Afghan territories, and is, consequently, an appropriate object of my recommendation to the British community in India, which I am fully warranted in believing will appreciate his worth.

I am indebted to Moollah Jailal for his undisguised liberality in supplying me with a large sum of money upon my simple receipt, the want of which must have placed me in many disagreeable situations. The frank generosity which marked this man's conduct, deserves much more than lays in my power to effect; I am therefore in hopes that a testimonial from my hand may ensure for him the good-will of those who may have both the inclination and the power of contributing to his welfare in any mode that may suggest itself.

Moolla Jailal has traded between Candahar and Bombay, and is well qualified to give information upon so interesting a subject: his veracity may be relied upon, and his own respectable address and unassuming intelligence are most satisfactory vouchers in his favour. He at present goes to Calcutta with the view of making himself acquainted with the resources of the country, and the facilities of commerce betwixt India and his native city, Candahar, and he will be obliged to any one who may be desirous of countenancing his prospects even to the extent of their approbation.

I have pledged him my own conviction, that in his passage through India he will meet with the attentions he so justly merits. From my own friends I solicit their kindness; from unknown people, who may have an opportunity of conferring civilities, I ask it as a favour, at the same time certain that it is only necessary for me to indicate the individual's character and services to create a participation in his objects, which I have no doubt his address and conversation will alone promote, independent of anything I can state here. Trusting to the same feeling in others which has guided Moollah Jailal's conduct towards myself, I leave him to the good-will and friendship of all who are interested in the welfare of travellers, and the prosperity of the Government of British India.

Lahore,
28 February 1834.

(signed) J. G. Gerard,
Surgeon, Bengal Establishment.

(True copy.)

(signed) Alex. Burnes.

To Captain *A. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your three letters, of the dates and on the subject noted in the margin.*

2. In reply, I am directed to observe that the contents of these communications are generally satisfactory, but that it would be premature for his Lordship to record any comment upon them at present.

Camp at Kurnaul,
3 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

(A true copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Dep. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, that I have more grounds for believing that Captain *Vickovitch*, the Russian agent at Cabool, is charged with letters from his Government to Maharaja *Runjeet Sing*. I observe that Colonel *Stoddart* mentions this as a surmise to Mr. *M'Neil*; and a few days ago Mr. *Allard* wrote to me from *Peshawur*, to know if the "on dit" of Mr. *Vickovitch's* going to the Punjab were true.

2. I have made every inquiry on this subject, and in the course of yesterday Mr. *Masson* was informed that the Russian agent had letters for the Maharaja, and that the purport of them was to the effect, that if his Highness did not withdraw from *Peshawur*, the Russian Government would compel him. [At any time it would be difficult to verify such a report, and, whether true or false, it is clearly my duty to report it, and that I shall not fail to sift its correctness.]

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
Cabool, 4 March 1838. On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens*,
Dep. Sec. to the Gov. of India with the Gov. Gen.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

On the 23d ultimo I had the honour to report to you the result of my intercourse with the Ameer of Cabool, on the subject of the extent to which he was to reckon on the good offices of the British Government, in an adjustment of his differences with the Sikhs, and the returns which would be expected from him in consequence.

2. From various quarters, I have meanwhile heard that the ruler of Cabool is but ill-disposed to meet Government in its wishes, and the advice given to him by one of the first individuals whose counsel he sought, [viz. *Mahomed Khan Byat*]

* Letter dated 21 January 1838, transmitting a reply to last letter to the Candahar Chiefs, stating that it is satisfactory, and that they appear to have seen the utility of their treaty with Persia. Letter, dated 22 January 1838, reporting what further particulars have transpired regarding the Russian agent at Cabool, and commenting on the probable cause of the mission of that individual. Letter, dated 22 January 1838, transmitting the latest intelligence from Herat, which is making a spirited defence, and submitting a remarkable letter from the Vizier of Herat to the Chiefs of Candahar.

Byat] was, that he should take the British Government at their word, and dismiss their agent, since there was nothing now to be expected from his presence in Cabool. From the receipt of the Governor General's letter to the present time, nightly meetings have been held at the Bala Hissar, and the Ameer has, on more than one occasion, given vent to very strong expressions, both as to his future proceedings, and his disappointment at the slight degree of appreciation entertained by Government regarding him.

3. [On the morning of the 2d instant I had a visit from the Newab Jubbar Khan, who arrived at Cabool on the preceding day from his estate, having set out immediately he heard of the decision of the British Government. He had previously read his Lordship's letter to the Ameer, and he had just come from visiting his brother. I need not detain Government with a repetition of what I stated to the Newab, since I made him fully acquainted with the views of Government, and the only terms which it seemed just, in regard to Maharajah Runjeet Singh, that we could tender our good offices, which consisted in an endeavour to use our influence at Lahore, to put a stop to future aggression on the part of the ruler there on the Afghan dominions, and thus releasing them from the wrath of a powerful sovereign whom they had offended, and of whom their applications in every quarter for succour afforded manifest proof of their fear and danger. I further told the Newab of the views of Government regarding Peshawur, of its restoration being in the hands of Runjeet Sing, but most certainly that it would not be given to the Ameer.

4. The Newab replied, that the Government must be ignorant of the true state of affairs in this country; that it was well known he was an avowed and open partisan of the British, and he might therefore give his opinions with a frankness that was not liable to be mistaken; that the good offices of the Government to remove the Sikhs, and their future attacks, and to make some settlement in Peshawur were proofs of sympathy; but his Lordship might not have reflected that, so far from the proffered protection from Runjeet Singh being of the value stated, that the Maharaja had never sought to attack Cabool, and that hitherto all the aggression had been on the part of the Ameer, and not the ruler of Lahore: that it appeared we valued our offers at a very high rate, since we expected in return that the Afghans would desist from all intercourse with Persia, Russia, Toorkistan, &c. Were the Afghans to make all these powers hostile, and to receive no protection against the enmity raised for their adhering to the British? As for Peshawur being withheld from the Ameer, it might be got over, and he believed he did not overrate his influence with Sooltan Mahomed Khan, when he stated that he might bring about a reconciliation between him and the Ameer; but he must say that the value of the Afghans had indeed been depreciated, and that he did not wonder at the Ameer's disappointment.

5. I replied to the Newab that I really did not comprehend the motives which swayed him or his brother; I had before found that it was not Candahar which he wished to subdue, and that the difficulties about Peshawur were not insurmountable, and that in consequence it could not be that chiefship which the Ameer sought to conquer. What then were his wishes or expectations? Dignity and respect (*izzut wu ikram*) was the reply, and to be looked upon in the light of being able to do something for the British Government, and for such service to receive its real friendship, and not a proffer of lip sympathy, which did not ensure protection from the west, and which dwelt upon the good done in the eastern frontier by withdrawing Runjeet Sing, of whose attacks they were under little apprehension. The whole of the Afghan country, continued he, is now at your beck, and no future opportunity may prove so favourable to gain any ends which you may have, and establish your influence in Cabool, and if you lose this opportunity you will have yourselves to blame. Before leaving, the Newab asked me to tell him confidentially if the real object of the Governor General's letter was to withdraw from the Afghans, or to make friendship with them, for he hoped he would be told its exact meaning, that he might use his influence to bring about a good understanding, or at once, to save himself from disgrace, refrain from interfering. I gave him an assurance that we did most sincerely sympathise with his brother and all the Afghans, and that the use of his influence would be much appreciated; but after the explicit letter of the Governor General and the instructions which I had received, I would deceive him if he founded hopes of anything further being done for the Afghans than
what

what had been stated. He took his leave telling me that he hoped for the best, but that he too was disappointed. He made also the singular declaration, that if you wish the good of this country, you must either put aside by force the Ameer, or find some means of obliging him.

6. On the 3d instant I had a visit from Mirza Samee Khan, the principal Secretary, who made me aware, by desire of the Ameer, with what had passed since I last saw him: he stated that the Ameer was more depressed at what had occurred than he had ever seen; that he had often written to the British Government about his affairs, and in return they replied to him about their own, and spoke of commerce; that the answer which had, however, been received from Lord Auckland, on his assuming the Government, differed from all others, and had been most acceptable; that it now appeared, if the Ameer took any measures which he thought advisable to resist Runjeet Sing, it will be considered a direct breach of friendship; so that by seeking the good offices of the British, he has brought upon himself their enmity, instead of their indifference. And for what did the Government claim the gratitude of the Ameer, and his abstaining from all communications with powers to the west? That it would use its good offices with Runjeet Sing to prevent future aggression, and that the Ameer should be satisfied with this and his remaining territories. The Government could not, as it appeared to the Ameer, have known the true state of things, when Runjeet Sing had never made aggressions on Cabool, or taken a jureeb (acre) of the Ameer's territories (which were now larger than ever), nor that he had been hitherto successfully resisted. He had, however, no hope against the Sikh's if the British Government aided or encouraged their attacks; and he certainly would consider it unjust if he sought other aid to injure Runjeet Sing, and the British Government interfered. That the offer to adjust affairs at Peshawur did not suit the Ameer's views; that he waived all expectations of that place for himself, since it was displeasing to us, but that he regarded Sooltan Mahomed Khan and Runjeet Sing as identified, and that, by such a settlement, his character (purdee) did not remain with the people who had attached themselves to him, whose injury would follow on Sooltan Mahomed Khan's restoration, and whom he would then have the disgrace of having deserted. In addition to all this, he was to get no protection from Persia, or any power whose anger he might have raised, because of his adherence to the British, which, in Mahomed Shah's approach to Herat, seemed both an act of honesty and justice.

7. These, continued the Mirza, are not the views only of the Ameer himself, and though as yet no general assemblage of his advisers had taken place, he had the opinions of others. The Newab Mahomed Osman Khan had written, in reply from Bala Bagh, that subjugation by Runjeet Sing could never disgrace him, even if it did take place; but a desertion of those who had served him in his wars with the Sikhs would most certainly do so, and if he could not manage to have some influence in Peshawur such must follow; but that he must know he had no hopes of resisting the British Government, whatever he might do to that of Lahore. The Mirza made nearly the same observations as the Newab, about the expectation which the Ameer had cherished of doing service for the British, and devoting himself to it; that it was not the adjustment of the Peshawur affair that dissipated his hopes, but the indifference to his sufferings and station, which it was now clear we felt, and this was the more strange, as he had abandoned all his intercourse with Persia, and every other power to please us; for he could not be charged with over civility to Captain Vickovitch, who had not been even received till he had consulted with me, whose continuance here depended upon the snow, and to whom letters which had been written had not been given, because they met my disapproval. The Ameer said he has taken up an impression that your Government has misunderstood the nature of the correspondence with Russia, and attached to it a degree of blame which would only have been just, had it taken place after an exhibition of your friendly feelings.

8. I replied to Mirza Samee Khan that they knew as well as I did the views of the British; that I could not take upon myself the responsibility of doing more than reporting all they had to say, and that I really did not see how the Government were to blame, since I did not myself know exactly at this time what the Ameer of Cabool expected from us. That as for the respect due to his situation, my presence here was proof enough of the friendly estimation in which

which we held him ; that there was no doubt some grounds for the claims made to protect him from the west, but every Government knew its own interest best ; and the extent which the British agreed to go in its good offices had been explicitly stated, and that if they consulted their own interests, they would gladly accept what had been tendered in a spirit so friendly ; for if we did not appreciate the services of the Afghans in the light which they themselves did, we wished to do them a substantial service, which it pained me to see they did not hold in that light. It was certainly true, I added, that Captain Vickovitch had been received as he had stated, and that the letters which were to be sent had been altered ; but I begged him to remember the message about waiting till the vernal equinox (nourooz) for an answer, and if he thought a Government like the British would submit to be tied down by such a limit.

9. The Mirza observed that the Ameer had apologised for that message, which was decidedly wrong, but that I, who was on the spot, should judge of the agitating circumstances. I took this occasion to say, that if the Ameer thought we were incorrect about the Russian letters, he had it in his power now to transmit the originals from Russia to the Governor General ; but I observed, that this was a suggestion far from agreeable ; and the Mirza said, that if I wished to see the letters again, he would bring them to me, but he did not think the Ameer would ever permit them being sent to India ; but we had received copies of them. I treated the reply with indifference, and I said, that the remark on my part had arisen from his own observation. Before Mirza Samee Khan left, I gathered that the result of all the conferences up to this time (3d instant) went to claim from the British, protection or means of protection from the west, as the price of their adherence to us ; and further, that however Peshawur might be settled by Runjeet Sing, no acknowledgment could be made for our good offices, unless means were taken to prevent injury from such settlement to those who had befriended the Ameer. Even with this latter arrangement, it appeared that we would not carry the Ameer's heart along with us, since he believed it in his power to do service from the position he held, and the anxiety to be allied to us above all others, to which we seemed to give little or no weight, and, on the contrary, had shown in the Governor General's letter, that we looked with a degree of indifference (*be purwá*) to any connexion with the Afghan nation.

10. On the morning of the 4th, I had another visit from the newab. While conversing on the contents of the Governor General's letter, I observed that no communication could more clearly convey the sincerity and good feelings of the British Government, than such a declaration, to which he assented, adding, that there were hopes conveyed in it, which had appeared, on a re-perusal, to be satisfactory ; but that I dimmed all these expectations, by declining to give any promises about protection from Persia, or any proof of our friendly feelings towards the Afghans. We had weighed much upon our good offices at Peshawur, and no one would be more rejoiced to see Sooltan Mahomed Khan once more established in his government than himself ; but we had really gone too far in fixing that as the limit of our good offices, and if we meant to purchase Afghanistan by it, we should not succeed ; that our policy appeared to him the more strange, since we had furnished cannon, muskets, &c., and even officers and money to Persia, when in Afghanistan, the door of India (*durwaza-i-hind*), we meant to do nothing ; and what was more, to consider Dost Mahomed Khan our enemy, if he entered into any description of political intercourse with others. The singular attachment of this man to the British Government, made its appearance however in a form different from what has been stated ; he made a serious proposal to me to keep the Ameer in check, if we were determined to go no further, by drawing closely to Candahar, establishing Sooltan Mahomed Khan in Peshawur, and then bidding defiance to the Ameer ; but to effect this, added he, you must substantially protect Candahar. I replied that Government had not contemplated any such a measure, and it was its object to maintain all the Afghan chiefs in their actual position.]

11. It seems very clear, [from what has been above stated], although the final answer of Dost Mahomed Khan has not been received, that we have little hope of establishing a friendly connexion with him on the terms wished for by Government. Even if it could be brought about before a vast change of opinion takes place, the friendship would be delusive, and no degree of dependence could be placed upon this chief. [I am aware that the views of Government

are

are decided, and it would be highly presumptuous in me to make any observations on the record of the different conversations which have been above reported.] As Mr. Vickovitch still remains in Cabool, and his presence is the strongest test of the Ameer's disposition to make use of him against us, and as Dost Mahomed Khan does not appreciate our good offices in Peshawur, I shall deem it my duty to retire when I receive the Ameer's letter, unless some very decided change of tone takes place at Cabool. [The only feeling, and it is one of the highest importance, which will counteract this step, is the expression of his Lordship's opinion that the line of policy marked out in respect to Dost Mahomed Khan ought to be readily successful; and the belief that this chief will have judged better for its interests, than to compel me to quit Cabool. I am well aware of the responsibility which I shall incur, as a public servant, by this act, if it be too precipitately taken; but as an unavoidable loss of character must equally follow my continuance here under expectations which appeared deceptive, I shall not hesitate between such responsibility and the paramount consideration of what appears to me due to our national honour.]

Cabool,
5 March 1838.

I have, &c
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Torrens,
Dep. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

It is with feelings of heartfelt gratification that I enclose, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, the following authentic particulars regarding the siege of Herat, from the actual scene of operations, contained in letters from Lieutenant Pottinger and Lieutenant-Colonel Stoddart, which reached me late last night.

2. The progress of the Persians at Herat itself could not be said, previous to this, to be exactly known; but every appearance was in their favour; they had marched, and with success, even in winter; they had captured Ghorian, invested Herat, dried up its ditch, and maintained their position before it for three months; and, what above all things struck terror into men's minds, overrun the country as far as Maimuna, from which they had demanded and received hostages. All of this information, though confirmed in these letters, it appears, will not avail the Persians; and the strength of the city, but above all the noble and spirited defence of the Vizier, and the brave Afghans, is, as Colonel Stoddart justly says "beyond all praise."

3. Lieutenant Pottinger's letter, No. 1, under date the 4th of February, gives an interesting account of the siege up to that date; but his subsequent communication, No. 2, of the 11th, 12th February is most important. I have written to that gentleman in reply, to inform Kamran and the Vizier that their defence of Herat will be highly appreciated, and I have enclosed a letter to Yar Mo-humud Khan himself, explaining who Mr. Pottinger is, and that though not invested with any public character, that the British Government will appreciate their treating him well, and that he will deliver some messages from me. These are to the effect that they may put away all fear from the blood feud between them and Candahar and Cabool, proving productive of injury to them in their present distress, since every thing here is right. I have also told Lieutenant Pottinger to continue at Herat, whether it be relieved or not, and to write to me as often as possible for the information of his Lordship. The perplexities of this officer are thus turned to profit, and his anxieties will be relieved.

4. The communication No. 3 is an original letter from Colonel Stoddart, with the communication from myself, which drew it forth. I feel bound to forward this latter communication to explain that of Colonel Stoddart, though it was not written for official transmission, for I hope that the Lieutenant-Colonel has not given too wide a latitude to your Despatch of the 13th of November last to Captain Wade, the 5th and 6th paragraphs of which I transmitted to him as reported to you in my letter of the 26th of December last.

5. The receipt of Colonel Stoddart's, communication, which I made known here, has been electric, and even if that officer have misconceived the instructions of the Governor General, the effect of his messages has been to depress the Shah, and raise the spirits of Kamran, while Lieutenant Leech's presence at Candahar goes to convince the Persians of all Colonel Stoddart has told them. A reference to the records of Government would prove that it was in no way committed, and it is surely proper that Mahomed Shah should know that his Lordship "considers the preservation of the integrity of Herat to be of the first magnitude." While the communications from Herat have arrived at Cabool at a period so well timed, the views of his Lordship have reached at even a more happy juncture the ears of the contending parties, and it is a source of much pleasure to think that the letter sent to Mr. McNeill from myself was dispatched at the time it was, and that it reached the Persian camp through the Vizier of Herat. I beg to draw attention to the postscript of Colonel Stoddart's letter, on the envelope, which of itself explains the state of affairs in the camp; he has not money to pay the cossid, and by his letter no gram for his horse.

6. The letters Nos. 4, 5 and 6 are from Lieutenant Leech at Candahar, which contain further particulars of the state of affairs. If the report of the defeat of the Assif or Dowla mentioned in the extract, No. 5, prove well-founded, we may expect a disastrous account of Mahomed Shah's army. Mr. Leech's letter, No. 6, contains his address to Kamran, which may do good, and as it is guardedly worded, can do no harm.

Cabool,
6 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(Confidential.)

To Captain *Stoddart*, Persian Camp, Herat.

My dear Sir,

I AM given to understand that you are in the Persian camp, along with the Shah. If so, do me the favour to hand this letter on to Mr. McNeill, and if you are on his part at Herat, pray open it without hesitation. If you can give me any explanation of its contents, I shall feel obliged. We are all looking most anxiously to Herat, and what will be the result of the Persian campaign there.

Cabool, 26 December 1837.

Believe, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes*.

(Confidential.)

To his Excellency *John McNeil*, Esq., Envoy Extraordinary, &c. &c., Tehran.

My dear Sir,

I HAVE of late written to you frequently, but the non-arrival of your packets sent by the way of Yezd, and all the information which I myself received regarding the want of safety in the intervening country, made me use the Post Office as a means of communication. I am, however, dispatching Lieutenant Leech to Candahar, and from his proximity to the Persian camp, I am not without hope of this reaching you safe.

The most remarkable piece of intelligence which I have to convey to you, is the arrival at this city, on the 19th instant, of Mr. Vickovitch, with a letter from the Emperor of Russia, the Shah of Persia, and Count Simonitch, to the Ameer, which were, however disagreeable, well enough, excepting the contents of the latter, which inform the Ruler of Cabool that Mr. Vickovitch will communicate certain messages to the Ameer, and that he is to look upon them as from himself. What are these messages? a tender of ready money in a good round sum now, or a yearly sum, for the purpose of defending himself against the Sikhs, the cash to be paid at Bhokara, and the offer being made on account of what Dost Mahomed Khan wrote to the Emperor of his distresses in the beginning of 1836! This is indeed a neat piece of business. The Emperor's letter is about three feet long, and emblazoned over with all the honours of chivalry and war. A Persian translation accompanies it, and after many friendly expressions, tells him that he would be always ready to afford assistance to the Cabool merchants, who come into Russia. Mahomed Shah's epistle or "rukum" is merely to say that as his royal brother of Russia addresses the Ameer, so does he; but the "Afghan of the Universe" has so offended the honest Afghan, by writing a "rukum," that he has not, I believe, even read it. Of Count Simonitch's letter I have already given you the contents.

What can this mean? I am now and then disposed to treat it as a hoax, but I have compared the seals of the count's former letters, and they agree with those now on his letter. The imperial seal of Russia a man might forge, but it is not very likely, and the epistle has certainly a very autocratic look. What does the Emperor of Russia want at Cabool after his minister's disavowals; and what return can Dost Mahamed Khan make to him?

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These be not, however, subjects for a single hastily written sheet, but you shall have a copy of my confidential communication to Lord Auckland on the subject, as well as of all the letters. The bearer of them calls himself a Pole in the Russian service at Orenburg, has been three times at Bokhara, and comes direct from Saint Petersburg. The effect of all this on Dost Mahamed Khan has been but little; he is very proud of the Emperor's letter, but, as he says, he wishes no one's aid while he has a hope of ours, and of that there is happily much more than a hope.

I have at last detached the Candahar flocks from their connexion with Persia, got them to abandon the thought of sending a son to the Shah, to dismiss Kambar Ali Khan, and to throw themselves on us, and to give them full confidence. Mr. Leech, an engineer officer, with me as one of my assistants, goes off *chuppar* to Candahar early to-morrow. I have put sundry plans into execution to prevent any of the Candaharies ever going to Furrak, as the Shah has requested them, because I foresee many and future ills from even a nominal allegiance to Persia on the part of the Sardars of Candahar.

After a great deal of doubt, I was much surprised at the winter campaign of the Persians against Herat. We have just heard of the fall of Ghorain, which must be a godsend to the Shah. I trust Herat will hold out. After your very strong remonstrances of June last, I never thought the Persians could have attempted the attack on Herat, and I cannot now persuade myself that any one from you is with the Shah, but reports tell me that Captain Stoddart is, and to him I have entrusted this letter, with permission to open it if it falls into his hands. I am aware that Mr. Pottinger is a detenu at Herat, and I doubted the arrival of the Persians till I heard from him. If this short communication gets safe into his hands, I shall abandon the Bombay road altogether.

We have not yet had anything definitely settled about Peshawar, but Lord Auckland is at hand, and will, I trust, do something decisive to keep away this bullying of Russian and Persian elchees on our frontiers. Dost Mohamed Khan is all we could wish, and I have sweetened the mouths of the Candahar Chiefs with promises so substantial, that if Leech gets there in time, we shall be as well there as here. I have much to write, which I do not feel at liberty to do by this channel; so adieu, and believe me, &c.

Cabool, 26 December 1837.

(signed) Alex. Burnes.

(True copy.)

(signed) Alex. Burnes.

No. 1.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Lieutenant *Pottinger* to Captain *Burnes*, dated Herat, 4th February 1838.

I TAKE the opportunity of the return of a cossid, sent here by your moonshee, Mohul Lal or Hussan Jan, to give a brief account of the state of things here. I have not yet been joined by either of my men, but a cossid of Syud Meyus received your letter given in charge to Ullah Dad Khan. I am much obliged to you for your kind proffers of assistance and advice as to my further progress. You will ere this, by my letters of November, observe I took advantage of the former by writing to you for money, which I beg you will, if you have an account with the Bhooj Residency, debit to that on my account, and I have written to Colonel Pottinger for it to be placed to my public account. The siege of this city appears further from its conclusion than it did on the first arrival of the Persians; they effected a lodgment on the counterscarp on the 28th or 29th of November, and, except filling up the ditch, and effecting a lodgment at the foot of the interior slope of the fausse-braye (it is unrevetted), they have as yet been able to do nothing else; four times the garrison has blown up their mine by a countermine, and last night, on their attempting an open sap along the foot of the exterior slope at the bottom of the ditch, we destroyed it in the same way. Their fire is so slack, that I judge they have expended the greater part of their ordnance ammunition; the mortars are totally silent, and the few round shot fired are of marble carved, from the tomb-stones.

The prisoners say they have cast two new guns of large calibre, and are employed in carving shot for them from the marble tombs, and that a supply of ordnance stores is on the way to join; also that the Shah has recalled Ullah Yai Khan Asaf Dowlut, whom he despatched at the beginning of the siege to beat up the quarters of the Huzara and Jumsheedees Avemaks, which he has done completely, and driven them far into Toorkistan, report says beyond Maimuna; I cannot find out if there had been an action or not, but am inclined to think they fought one on the banks of the Moorghub.

Twelve or fifteen days ago a Yoozbashee of the Khan of Orgunge, arrived with a letter for Shah Kamran, in which he stated he had ordered his entire force to assemble at Merve, and that he himself, with 50,000 men and some guns (I forget the number), had marched from Khiva, on the south of Shaval, and might be expected about the end of that month. However, though that time has elapsed, no further intelligence of him has arrived except a body of 200 Tukus, who, by his orders, had come here 10 days ago; they being joined by a hundred Huzaras, Jumsheedees, and other men-stealers from this, attempted to foray the Persian foragers, but fell into an ambuscade, and suffered very severely, the Toorkmans especially. The others, knowing the country better, got off with the loss of about

about half their number; this is likely enough to cool the ardour of the Khan Thezriel* and his merry men, who are much better fitted for thieving than fighting. The garrison sallied a few nights back, and the rear attacked the head of their own column, and the mistake caused the loss of one man killed and several wounded before the mistake was remedied. This contretemps, however, put the enemy on their guard, and the party finding that the case, came back with their tails between their legs. A few days after, they sallied out in the day; the Persians did not however wait to be attacked, but came out, drove them back under the musketry of the ramparts, though the sortie was supported by the fire of two guns on the upper faussebraye, which were very well served, and did much execution; the Persians had also two guns which not a little frightened the spectators, who appeared to think every shot intended for them. The Vuzeer and Khans were considerably mortified at the result, and the former took considerable trouble to impress on me that the party from the garrison were only celjareet†, and most of the horsemen rag-tag and bobtail, on yaboos and ponies. What will be the end of the siege I cannot guess. The Vuzeer and chiefs will not give in, and nothing but assault and famine will succeed in reducing them; the former I doubt if the Persians will attempt; the latter will detain them here another year. The Afghans in the city, except the Populzyes, have been thoroughly aroused by the cry of religion, and the license taken by the Persians in some of the neighbouring villages. The Populzyes are without a head, but are very disaffected to the Vuzeer; the Shah (Kamran), who is kept in total ignorance of what is going on, being deceived by false accounts, is a passive spectator, and appears to care little which side carries the day. The Persians have as yet entirely confined their attack to the south-west quarter of the city.

Yours, &c.

(signed) *Edward Pottinger.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

No. 2.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS from Lieutenant *Pottinger* at Herat to Captain *Burnes*, dated 11th and 12th February 1838.

Leech's cossid, Hajee Hoosein, arrived on the 6th, bringing your letter for Mr. McNeill; the Vuzeer permitted it at my request to pass unopened, and allowed me to forward it to Colonel Stoddart in the Persian camp. I had prepared everything to despatch the cossid with it when the Vuzeer requested I should go myself, and at the same time as I delivered the letters, deliver two messages, one for the king and one for the Vuzeer, the former in Kamran's name, the latter in the Vuzeer's own name. I accordingly saddled my horses, and going out of the gate of Kotechak, which is not invested, rode over to the nearest picquet, which forwarded me on, according to military usage, till I reached the tent of Hajee Akasee, who, on finding I was an Englishman that had business with Colonel Stoddart, sent me to his tent without delay or questioning, and after telling that gentleman my errands, and delivering your and Leech's letters, I accompanied him back to the tent of the Persian Vuzeer, where I told that person from Yar Mohamed Khan that he was anxious to pay him all the attention of a son, but that his coming with an army to invade the country of his ancestors, was so unfatherly that he was obliged to act contrary to his wishes, but that if he would retire he would come and perform the duties of a son. (I shall write a full statement of what passed as soon as I have leisure, now abridging it, that I may get this cossid off quickly for the information of Government). The Vuzeer replied to the message very lengthily, and argued the subject on all points; I, on the part of the Afghans, when he claimed Herat, claiming Meshid and Nishapoor. His reply was shortly, that till the Shah and Vuzeer came out and agreed to the five proposals sent themselves by Futti Mahomed Khan to Tehran, he will not recommend Mahomed Shah to move from this, but that the king was the judge and does as he likes. The five proposals alluded to are these, but the Afghans deny them in part, and state that the rest were mere words never intended to be acted upon, and merely sent as flattery; viz., 1st. That Kamran and the Vuzeer should come and kiss the feet of the Asylum of the Universe. 2d. That they should restore the inhabitants and repeople Jain and Bakhurs. 3d. That they should give up foraying the Persian frontier, and restore the prisoners, particularly the two daughters of Mohamed Khan Jumea. 4th. That they shall supply a contingent in the Persian wars. 5th. That they emigrate to Azarbizun, if Mohamed Shah choose it. I told him he might as well save himself the trouble of sending such messages, as they would never be assented to, the Afghans universally declaring they would neither surrender Herat, or acknowledge the sovereignty of the Persian king. He then told me to take my message to the king, and we were immediately conducted to his tents, where I delivered Kamran's message, taking especial care to term him king, and used no term to the one monarch which I did not to the other. Mohamed Shah gave me a very inflated answer, and said he supposed Kamran had, from his having felt that his enemy's hand was at his throat, at last consented to give up

* Chief, or Orgimie, so called.

† i. e. Militia. (signed) *A. B.*

up man-selling; that Kamran was told to learn that he told a lie in saying he had not assisted the rebellious Khoransanee Chiefs, and in saying he wished to abolish slavery, finally ending by declaring, "I will not be satisfied till I have a garrison in the Boorj-i-Kudunz"; that if God gave him the country, he would; if he did not, he would remain until —, but did not conclude the sentence. Kamran's message was that Mahomed Shah's conduct filled him with grief; that in his distress he had taken refuge near the Persians, expecting neighbourly support; that Futteh Ali Shah styled his father, brother, and himself, son, as did Abbas Mirza; that his forbearings on Futteh Ali Shah's death merited another reward than to drive him from his last shelter; indeed he had expected assistance to recover what he had lost; that he was not a man-seller; it was alike contrary to the Afghan religion and customs; that the people who did it were the wanderers, not entirely obedient to him, and that he was ready to stop that, and restore the prisoners taken, and that the Persian king's conduct was far from generous, &c.

With respect to Colonel Stoddart's transactions, his own letter will speak for itself; he, however, has requested me to write a full statement of what passed, which I shall do by another cossid, hurrying this man off, as I find you are so ill informed of what is going on here. On the 10th, Colonel Stoddart handed in the translation of the Enclosure A. (the translation B. is also enclosed) to the Persian Vuzeer, and received a polite note in reply, stating he was not the proper channel of conveying the intelligence to the king's ear, and begged to be excused. Colonel Stoddart, in consequence of the refusal of the Prime Minister, as he considered the communication one too important for transmission by a common mirza, decided on taking no further steps, but forwarding it on to the Ambassador, Mr. McNeill at Tehran, where the Minister for Foreign Affairs is at present, satisfied that the real conductor of the Persian Government was acquainted with it, and chose to take the responsibility of keeping the king in ignorance of it.

The next morning I returned into the city, where I delivered the answers of their messages to Shah Kamran and the Vuzeer, who laughed at them, and said they were too absurd; but I shall leave this for my future letter, as it is of no importance, simply stating that the Afghan Chiefs have individually and collectively told me they never did or will acknowledge the Persian supremacy.

The city is very much stronger than it was at the commencement of the siege, and the Afghans are confident and in high spirits; they want but money. The Persians, on the contrary, are heartily sick of the war, and only wish to get back safely. The men show a great disposition to desert, and are only kept together by fear and the length and dangers of the road back from this. They have received no pay since they left Teheran, and every necessary of life is scarce in their camp. Colonel Stoddart could not get his bills for money cashed in the camp, and sent them into the city with me to make the attempt; his horses were absolutely without grain, so scarce has it become. Colonel Stoddart gave me for opinion that the Persians must retreat for want of supplies very shortly. They have taken no steps to supply the camp, by bringing in the cultivators; on the contrary, they have treated them in the usual Persian style; so in consequence none have come to the camp; all still remain in the mountains, where they fled on the first approach of the enemy. The country about Herat has now nearly become a desert, and when the snow on the Avemak Mountains may melt, the swelling of the river will cut them off entirely from the cultivated parts of the country. The Afghans are well supplied with provisions, are getting on as well as we can wish them with regard to their defence; for my own part, I have little doubt, from what I now know of both parties, that the taking of Herat by the present Persian army is little less than an impossibility; indeed, according to common phrase, it is so totally. I trust my letters by Cossid Salah Mahomed Kulora may have reached. Want of means has prevented me sending you a cossid myself.

The Shah (Kamran) has addressed the Governor General of India requesting his aid, and that the British Government become the protectors of this State, and its guarantee against aggressions. It will be forwarded through you along with amicable letters, to the Chiefs of Candahar and Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

Enclosure (A.).

COPY of a communication sent by Lieutenant Colonel Stoddart to the Persian Prime Minister, Hajeer Mirza Aghasee on the evening of the 9th February 1838. This was enclosed in a note to the minister, stating it was strictly private, and intended for the information of that officer and the Shah only. It was forwarded in consequence of the receipt of letters from Captain Burnes and Lieutenant Leach, containing the intelligence of the intentions of the Governor General, regarding the invasion of Afghanistan by the Persian Army.

Instructions have arrived from his Lordship, the Governor General of India, for the British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary now at Tehran, and those instructions make it necessary for him to make certain communications to his Majesty the Shah; also it is necessary for me that I should acquaint his Majesty with the nature of these communications;

• The citadel of Herat. (signed) *A. B.*

tions; but the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary will, in an official manner, forward them. That the British Government and Governor General of India, invested as he is with full powers from the British Government, holds for opinion that Herat should be preserved in integrity, and that this object is decided, and, God willing, resolved upon. The Governor General, in these circumstances, has perfect confidence in the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, that it has fallen upon him to represent the British Government, and conduct the mediation for peace; that the British Government will not agree to the extinction of the monarchy of the Sudozye Afghans, and the overthrow of their right to sovereignty, and the British Government, as the well-wisher of both the Persian and Afghan States, intends to take measures to alter the views of the Shah respecting Herat, whether by treaty or otherwise, and to prevent foreign enemies from aggression in the territories of the Afghans, whether belonging to Herat, Kandahar or elsewhere, and certainly before this the detail of these measures has reached the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; and, please God, he will in a few days arrive in Camp.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*

No. 3.

To Captain *Alex. Burnes, &c.*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated Cabool, 26th December 1837, which Mr. Pottinger delivered to me here yesterday, it having reached him at Herat on the 6th instant, by the Cossid Hajee Hoosein, who also accompanied Mr. Pottinger on his visit to this camp. Agreeably to your directions, I opened the letter addressed by you to Mr. McNeill, Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, now at Tehran.

I received at the same time a letter from Mr. Leach, dated 17th January 1838, Candahar, and another from him dated 18 January, Candahar, the latter giving cover to an extract from a Despatch from his Lordship the Governor General of India, dated 13th November 1837. I this day communicated to the Shah and his Minister, Hajee Meerza Aghasee, the decided resolution of the Governor General, vested as he is with full powers from the British State, respecting the preservation of the integrity of Herat, the claim to sovereignty in the present Sudozye family of Afghans, the security of the Sirdars of Cabool and Candahar in their territories, and the discouragement of attacks on Herat or the Sirdars, all which I stated would be more formally announced to the Shah by Mr. McNeill, in whom the British Government further expresses its fullest confidence. This I do as it was desirable that no more time should be lost in putting the Persian Government in possession of the decisions come to respecting the present state of proceedings here.

You will see that as yet the original letter from the Governor General to Mr. McNeill has not yet reached the Shah, and it became an imperative duty for me to lose no time in showing to the Persian Government the view taken of their proceedings.

The Russian was sent, as he stated, and I was not a little surprised that he was received at all, but as he has been, of course he will be dismissed: the effect of his leaving Cabool with favour would encourage all future Russian intrigues at Bokhauran and elsewhere round this. He was guilty of deception in stating himself to be a Pole, by which he has selected an unfavourable disguise; for, what can be more disgusting than the idea of a Pole serving the Russian Government? He is a Cossack. Sirdar Dost Mahomed Khan did write to the Emperor Nicholas in 1836, and thus furnished an excuse for the reply, out of which, of course, the Sirdar will back by his future conduct; the rest you mention the Co-sack said, was correct. I look upon this interference of Russia with the Afghans and the Persian Government, permitting it publicly, as a breach of our treaty with Persia on the part of the Persian Government, and as an uncalled-for and unsuitable intermeddling between Persians and Afghans on the part of Russia. The conduct of the Persian Shah was also very undignified in this matter.

Allow me to express my hope that you will not leave these countries till the intentions of the Governor General are fully completed, and the affairs of the Afghans and their neighbours around arranged, and put on the social footing necessary to our interests.

I forward the letters which reached me from you to-morrow; they will probably reach Mr. McNeill by the 6th March. It is some days since I have been expecting a courier from him.

The separation of the Chief of Candahar from his leaning to the Kajars, was of great importance and well timed. In Seistan, Jelaladeen Khan Kyanny is the rightful chief, being under the Afghan sovereign as now; he has not, as the other Seistan Chiefs, at all tampered with the Kajars, and his sister is a wife of Shah Kamrans.

Mr. Pottinger will tell you the views of the Shah and his Minister, and the state of his operations. Shah Kamran has conducted himself with great spirit during the siege, and his Wuzer Yar Mohamud Khaun Alikozyc's conduct is beyond all praise; they depend entirely on British friendship, and are worthy of it, for they have proved it by actions.

The conduct of the Persian Government in not fulfilling the first part of our treaty, promising a commercial treaty, and the insult offered to one of the legation Gholams, by stripping him and arresting him in this camp, has been so disagreeable to Mr. McNeill that it

is not impossible that he may demand his passports, and leave Persia, though he would leave some one to forward public communications from India or England to the Persian Government. You should know this, that duplicate proceedings may be adopted from yourself to the Shah Imean. Pray make sure that our Government's views reach the Shah.

Mr. Pottinger is in high esteem among the Afghans, and will not probably have any difficulty in communicating to Mr. McNeill through me or direct to the Persian Government.

With my sincere wishes that the measures now commenced by our Government may be prosperously carried into effect, and begging you to excuse the shortness of this letter, on account of the shortness of Mr. Pottinger's views, all which he will explain,

Shah of Persia's Camp, near Herat,
9 February 1838.

I remain, &c.

(signed) *Charles Stoddart*,
In Her Majesty's Legation to the Court
of Persia, and acting for Mr. McNeill
at the Shah's Camp.

My dear Burnes,

I am very glad to have heard from you, and sincerely wish you well through your work. Mr. Leech will open this.

9 February.

Yours, &c.
(signed) *C. Stoddart*.

Why don't you attach Pottinger to your mission temporarily? Mr. Leach or you must pay the Cossid. We have not a rap between us!

No. 4.

To Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir.

I HAVE the honour to report that a cossid arrived last night from the city of Herat, bringing the accompanying letter to your address from Lieutenant Pottinger. This man was 12 days from the city, whereas 20 days have elapsed since the letter has been written. By this man's account the Ashif of Meshid had not returned from his campaign against Sher Mohamed Shazada Saif Almulk; one of Kamran's sons is in the Valley of Ghorzana, trying to collect men and money, and another son, Shahzada Julaloodan, is in Farra; a third son, Sadut Molk, holds Subzawar; a fourth, Shahzada Nadi, is now in Bokhara, seeking for the assistance of the Ameer, and a letter had been received from him, saying he had succeeded in interesting the Ameer in Kamran's favour, and was on the banks of the Amoo with a succour of troops. The besieged were aware of the return of the Persian Elchy Kambar Aly to the camp, and of the presence of Alladad Khan, the Candahar elchy; and a report was strong in the city that Candahar had receded from its allegiance to Persia, which, of course, has given Shah Kamran great confidence. The probable reason of the Popalzais in Herat being dissatisfied, is that Vizier Yar Mohamed Khan of course exercises great vigilance over them, their leader Shamsooddeen having gone over to the Persians. Six maunds of wheat are sold in the city for a Candahar rupee, ghee two rupees the maund, meat one rupee the maund Tabreezee. There had been a slight fall of snow, which, however, did not lie on the ground. The city of Herat only mounts ten guns; the effective force of the garrison is 5,000 men. Since the commencement of the siege Kamran has not lost many more than a hundred men; the Persians taken prisoners are said to amount to more than a thousand, and among whom is a Muza of consequence; they are employed in repairing the works. In the last engagement several Persians of consequence, three or four, were killed; and a European in the Shah's employ, Samsam by name, was wounded in the leg. No general action had taken place between the Ashif of Meshid and Sher Mahomed Huzara, who is still in force. The defeat of the latter, mentioned in Lieutenant Pottinger's letter, seems to refer to the first engagement, before the junction of Sher Mohamed and the Khan of Maimuna. The Vizier, Yar Mahomed, conducts the siege, and is the sole head of affairs in Herat. I gave Syud Noor Shah on his return to Herat a message for Vizier Yar Mahomed Khan, saying, we were his well-wishers in this campaign, and assuring him no ill to his cause would accrue from my presence at Candahar.

Candahar 25 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. Leech*, Assistant.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

* This is unhappily contradicted by letters from Bokhara. (signed) *A. B.*

No. 5.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Lieutenant *Leech*, dated *Candahar*, 1 March 1838.

ON the night of the cossid leaving Herat there was a severe snow storm, and the snow was knee deep, and there was a report on the same evening that a Persian of respectability, who had been captured by a soldier of Kamran, was recognised by Vizier Yar Mohamed Khan, who purchased him for ten buja Khalees, cured some wounds that he had received, gave him two bujakhalees, and released him, with permission to return to the camp. This man, on his return, forwarded, out of gratitude, a letter to his preserver the Vizier, to the following effect, that news of the defeat of the Ashif of Meshid, who had been despatched against Sher Mohamed Huzara had been received, that Mohamed Shah was about to despatch an elchy to Kamran, whom the Vizier must endeavour to detain two days, as, if the news were true, the Persians would retire the next night. Elchy came, and was with the Vizier till the cossid left.

(True extract.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.

No. 6.

To Captain *Alex. Burnes*, on a Mission to Cabool.Letter to Shahzada
Kamran.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward a translation of a letter addressed this day to Shazada Kamran (the Persian copy will be forwarded by the next opportunity). From a letter of Lieutenant Pottinger's, I have reason to suspect that Lieutenant-Colonel Stoddart, now in the Persian camp on the part of Mr. McNeill, has no communication with the city. I am, therefore, confident of my communication not interfering with his correspondence. In the absence of your instructions, I have written the letter.

Reason for the
despatch of the
letter.

1st. From a fear that Kamran, despairing of succour from Candahar, fearing its co-operation with Persia, and enraged at the Sirdars for not joining him in a common cause of religion, should prove a treaty, and perhaps take active measures with Persia for the destruction of Candahar. 2d. To pave the way for a reconciliation with this principality, so much desired by Government. 3d. To erase from the mind of the Shazada any suspicion or bad feeling that may have been generated by my presence at Candahar. 4th. To pave the way for the establishment of British interest in Herat, should it be rescued ever without our assistance from Persia, by leading Shazada Kamran to suppose we were interested in his difficulties, but that we were prevented from assisting him, both from the distance of our seat of Government from Khorasam, and from the want of a direct influence in these countries. 5th. Considering that no time than the present would be more opportune to our interests for acknowledging the independence of Herat.

2. I hope this measure will meet your approbation.

Mullahs of Canda-
har.

3. The Mullahs of Candahar have this day sworn on the Koran (after having for several days besieged the residence of Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan for leave to go against the Persians) that they will wait only four days to be led to Herat; if at the expiration of those days the Sirdars will not conduct them, they will proceed of themselves; and if the Sirdars attempt to prevent them, they will emigrate with their families.

I have, &c.

Candhar, 1 March 1838.

(signed) *R. Leech*, Assistant.TRANSLATION of a Letter addressed to *Shazada Kamran*, dated 1 March 1838, by Lieutenant *R. Leech*, Assistant on a Mission to Candahar.

After Compliments.

It is perhaps known to you that a year has elapsed since the Governor General of India despatched me, in company with my superior captain, Alexander Burnes, and other gentlemen, to Cabool, to arrange for the opening of the River Indus as a route for commerce. Some time after our arrival, we heard of an enemy having entered your country, and besieged Herat, at which we were much concerned. For some time past it had been the wish of the British Government to despatch one or two officers to Afghanistan, and your country to make terms of friendship with the Sirdars and yourself, and to open a caravan road from Khorasan to Hindusthan. By the orders of my Government I am now in Candahar.

2. My Government respects all the holders of power in Afghanistan as independent one of the other, and on this point I have repeatedly assured and satisfied the rulers of Candahar. It was my hope that I should be able to come and give you the same assurance regarding yourself, but the danger and difficulty of the road has prevented me. I offer you my condolence, as a friend, on the present unfortunate war between yourself and Mahomed Shah, and assure you that I have made known to my Government your condition and my sorrow. Whatever influence God may grant to my Government to terminate this war between yourself and Mahomed Shah, will be exerted. I think that, by the assistance of God, peace may be established between you and Mahomed Shah. Until proof of participation in your difficulties arrives

arrives in answer from my Government, you may rest at ease without any apprehensions from this quarter. My Government considers your country as an independent State. When peace is determined on, Lieutenant-Colonel Stoddart, who is in the Persian camp on the part of my Government, will mediate for your good. Further, as a well-wisher of yours, may I request your indulgence to listen to a few remarks I have to make, viz., that it would be well if the differences existing between you and the Sirdars of Candahar were settled? The world agree that men are all the sons of Adam, who was produced from his mother earth. You are bound by three ties to the Sirdars of Candahar:—

1st. That you, in common with them and all the world, are sons of one mother earth. This is nothing.

2d. You are brothers of one great tribe, the Duranee; and it is written in the "Hudees," (*Inna al muminin akh* "for certainly the faithful are brothers.")

3d. You are more neighbours; on this account your subjects and the subjects of Candahar are brothers. When your rulers differ, brothers are separated from brothers, father from son, and son from father. Further, God has of His wisdom created the great to protect the weak, poor, and abject, and it is their duty to do so, and to agree among themselves. If you were agreed among yourselves, would it be possible for an enemy to enter and waste this your country? Do not be offended at what I have written, &c. &c.

(True translation.)

(signed) R. Leech, Assistant.

(True copies.)

H. Torrens,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor General.

To W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I AVAIL myself of the opportunity of the express, despatching the gratifying intelligence regarding Herat, to convey the equally gratifying information of having brought the Ameer to give in, as it appears to me, to all the wishes of the Governor General. This is the more satisfactory after the unfavourable aspect of affairs up to the 4th instant (reported by express on the 5th). I demanded my dismissal, which drew on a stormy discussion, and a successful termination. I can only now communicate the fact, and shall prepare the official Despatch without delay.

I have, &c.

Cabool,
7 March 1838.

(signed) A. Burnes,
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

H. Torrens,

Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
with the Governor General.

To Captain A. Burnes, on a Mission to Cabool.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 26th January, on the subject of the views of Dost Mahomed Khan, respecting the plan for reinstating his brother Sooltan Mahumud Khan in the administration of the Peshawur territory.

2. It is satisfactory to his Lordship to have received this full statement of the sentiments of Dost Mahomed Khan on this subject, but it is only necessary, after the detailed exposition of the policy and intentions of your Government, contained in my Despatch of the 20th January last, to observe that it never has been in his Lordship's contemplation to press the scheme in question in preference to any other for the re-establishment of a good understanding between the Sikhs and the Chief of Cabool. His Lordship has all along stated that he would rejoice in any arrangement which might be satisfactory to both parties, but that the relinquishment of Peshawur upon any terms must depend upon the pleasure of Maharaja Runjeet Singh, whose right to that possession appears by the 8th paragraph of your letter, under reply, to be admitted even by the Ameer, and cannot be questioned. The Maharajah has never

manifested the design of transferring the management of Peshawur to any of the Afghan brothers, and under the present explanation of the feelings of Dost Mahumud Khan, his Lordship will not, of course, bring forward for discussion any proposition for re-establishing the authority of Sooltan Mahumud Khan throughout the Territory.

3. Before considering whether it may be proper to submit the scheme of adjustment, which has now been suggested for the sentiments of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, his Lordship would await your reply to his instructions, of the date before cited. If Dost Mahumud Khan should be prepared to insist on his having some share in the management of Peshawur as a condition, without which no arrangement for the re-establishment of an amicable understanding will be acceptable to him, it will have been seen from these inclinations as from what has now been said, that his Lordship must regret the being unable to support his views. In the meantime, it occurs to his Lordship that Dost Mahumud Khan might find advantage in opening a direct negotiation with the Maharajah on the basis which he now desires. Such a course might elicit the views of the Maharajah with less of restraint and doubt, than if the scheme were to be agitated through our immediate interposition. Indeed, whatever be the terms sought to be obtained, his Lordship would wish you to look more decidedly than you have yet done to such direct intercourse between the parties under the general exercise of our influence with both, for moderation and peace, rather than to indirect communications through our political officers.

4. It is, I am instructed to add, his Lordship's wish distinctly to learn whether Dost Mahomed Khan is, or is not, prepared upon mature reflection to rest satisfied with an arrangement which shall leave him in the enjoyment of his existing possessions, under the assurance of the continued exercise of our good offices for his security from further attack, the Sikhs remaining, as at present, in the immediate occupation and management of the Peshawur territory.

5. Should you, in the event even of an entire disappointment in the views which your Government has encouraged itself to form of moderation on the part of Dost Mahomed Khan, see reason to think that by your remaining for some longer period at his capital, that chief, although disposed at present to urge demands which cannot be sanctioned by us, may eventually be brought to a more true sense of his own interests, or that the commercial objects of your deputation, or the good-will to be conciliated by your communications with the neighbouring chiefs, under your immediate retirement from Cabool inexpedient, his Lordship will not object to your postponing pending the receipt of his further instructions the execution of the orders for quitting Cabool, in the case supposed, which were formerly conveyed to you.

I have, &c.

Camp at Kurnal,
the 7th March 1838.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India, with the
Governor General.

(True copy.)

H. Torrens,
Deputy Secretary to the Governor of India,
with the Governor General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

ON the morning of the 5th instant, I had the honour to report to you the result of my communications with the Ameer of Cabool, and the very unfavourable aspect which affairs had assumed.

2. In the forenoon of the 5th, I had a visit from Nawab Jubbar Khan, who came over from the Durbar by the Ameer's request, with a string of propositions which were to be agreed to by me as the terms on which the Ameer consented to what was asked of him. These consisted of a promise to protect Cabool and Candahar from Persia, of the surrender of Peshawur by Runjeet Sing, of the interference of our Government to protect at that city those who might

might return to it from Cabool, supposing it to be restored to Sultan Mahomed Khan, with several other proposals [the nature and purport of which may be inferred from my previous correspondence].

3. I at once informed the Nawab that I would agree to none of the terms proposed; that I was astonished to hear a race, so illustrious as the Dooranees, who had carried their sword to Ispahan and Delhi, imploring protection against Persia; that as for Peshawur, it belonged to our ancient ally the ruler of Lahore, and he alone could surrender it, [but to which we never would, or intended to use coercion]; and that as for protecting those who returned from Cabool, supposing the Maharaja to make a settlement, it was an after concern, which it was now useless to discuss, as well as the other matters stated, since the Ameer seemed so little disposed to attend to the views of the British Government, and, what was of more importance, his own interests.

4. The Nawab replied at great length; said that we did not seem disposed to meet the Afghans halfway; that it was true we entertained a mean opinion of the power of [the Shah of] Persia; and as he always believed Europeans, he concluded we were right, but that it was otherwise with the Afghans and with the Ameer, and particularly in a city like this, where there were so many Kuzzilbashas, and when Herat was besieged. I abridged the interview by stating that as I saw no hope of adjustment in the present tone held, I should request my dismissal, and proceed to Hindoostan, where they might solicit, but probably in vain, another listening to their grievances. The Nawab left me in sorrow.

5. Shortly after the Nawab's departure, I drew up and forwarded the following to the Ameer, by means of Mirza Samee Khan.

"NOTE. That in consequence of the many letters which the Ameer Sahib wrote to the British Government about the sufferings (durd) which he experienced at the hands of the Sikhs, the Government had heard his requests, sympathised with him, and were willing and ready to use its good offices with Maharaja Runjeet Sing that a remedy be applied to the sufferings complained of. The Ameer Sahib wrote to other Governments on the subject of these sufferings, and all the letters had one and the same contents; but it now appeared that the remedy which Lord Auckland offered to apply, and which was all that was then asked, was not sufficient, other demands being made quite unconnected with the Sikhs. That Mr. Burnes has no power or authority to speak in other matters, as is well known from his Lordship's letter, and he would therefore be deceiving the Ameer by listening to them. Under these circumstances, as there is a Russian agent here, and he is detained by the Ameer's request, it is clearly evident that the Ameer does not approve of the offers of the British, but seeks the aid of others. Mr. Burnes feels it due to himself and his Government to ask leave in consequence to return to Hindoostan. To remain longer here, fetters the Ameer, and discredits the British Government in Cabool. Had Mr. Burnes power to do what the Ameer wishes, he would not ask his leave, but he has no power. It is, however, in the Ameer's option to make known to the Governor General by a trusty messenger, whom he can send to Hindoostan all his wishes.

"Cabool, 5 March 1838.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes.*"

In the evening the Ameer assembled all his counsellors, several of whom had in the interval arrived, and a stormy discussion ensued, which lasted till past midnight; he was, I hear, very eloquent on the disgrace which would accrue to him in the Mahomedan world, after his crusades against the Sikhs, and his raising the countries around. [Mirza Samee Khan, his minister, by every account seems to have acted a most judicious part, and, under taunts which the Ameer cast upon him for having so long and so ardently courted the British, much to his regret now saw the nature of our alliance in Captain Burnes' note. The Mirza, who has great influence over him, ventured to tell him that that note was a most serious matter.] It was at last agreed to summons me next day, but the discussion was again resumed on the morning of the 6th, and lasted till near noon.

7. About midday the Mirza, accompanied by Imaum Verdi, who had been called from Jelalabad, waited upon me; they brought the proposals of the Nawab somewhat modified, with many expressions of regret on the part of the Ameer and themselves, that I seemed so resolute in rejecting all that had been urged. The Mirza Imaum Verdi claimed Peshawur as the Ameer's, but for which

which he was willing to pay tribute. I replied that it never had been the Ameer's, [and I believed never would; he then said that the Afghans did not fear the Sikhs, and I stated that their applications to all quarters seemed very much like fear.] Mirza Samee Khan then brought forward the clause of protection from Persia, and I produced [the] letters [of Colonel Stoddart and Lieutenant Pottinger,] which had arrived over night, [and how happily timed I need not dwell on,] to show the progress and the hopes of that Power in the siege of Herat; the effect was electric; and the Mirza said that we need not now discuss that point. The Mirza then invited me to the Bala Hissar in the afternoon, in the name of the Ameer, and in promising to go, I told them that Dost Mahomed Khan could not change my resolutions, which were final, and that if he agreed not to what had been stated, I would conclude with asking permission to leave Cabool to-morrow morning. Mirza Samee Khan declared that that never could and never would be permitted, for the hopes of this country rested on the British Government.

8. At the time appointed, I proceeded alone to the Bala Hissar, and met the Ameer, whom I found more gracious and more friendly even than usual. He was only attended by the two Mirzas above named. I lost no time in entering upon business, and said that I was sorry to hear he had not taken the Governor General's letter in the spirit it was written, and that he had deemed it harsh (sukht), when the very fact of his Lordship sending such a letter, proved the interest taken in him; and that I had perused the document in English and Persian, without finding a single expression to offend him. It was true that it was a very explicit paper, but the Afghans were a nation famed for their straightforward proceedings, [in which they differed very much from other Asiatics,] and it was most important to act towards him with a clear good faith, and let him know at once what might be expected of the British Government.

9. These observations drew him forth, and he took up the whole question argumentatively; in which manner I was glad to meet him. He said that my explanation of his Lordship's letter was very true, and perhaps satisfactory; but that he had ever avowed himself as an anxious suitor for the friendship of the British nation; that its fame and its generosity surpassed all others, but he now inferred from the Governor General's letter, and from what I had told him, that it was thought that he was prepared to go counter to its wishes, and to make it his enemy, which had never even entered into his contemplation; that he appealed to all his past conduct if he had shown any such symptoms; that he was a rude Afghan, not accustomed to the polish of courts, and had been unable to do the honour to a representative from the British, which so exalted a nation was so well entitled to: but as far as his ability went, he had gone, and his efforts, however incommensurate with his wishes, should acquit him. That as for the Sikhs, he might or might not be able to resist them, but he could not stand for a month against the British, and the thought of its displeasure even filled him with terror.

10. It appeared to him that both the Government and myself had taken an erroneous view of his correspondence with Persia, Russia, and the neighbouring nations; that I in particular had, in the note which I had forwarded to him, made it appear that, to one and all, his addresses had been of the same import, and that the good offices which the British were now disposed to use in his behalf were the result that he desired; but it was otherwise. Runjeet Sing had in his wars slain and disgraced thousands of the Afghans, and he sought for money from others, for assistance from us and from all, means of injuring so bitter an enemy. He knew that the Maharaja was our friend, and that we would not attack him; but we had it in our power to rescue Peshawur as we had rescued Sikarpore, not by arms, but by a single hint to the ruler of Lahore; that, on the contrary, we had avowed our being more than ever friendly to him, had preferred him to the Afghans, who were willing to do us service. What was, however, more remarkable than all, we had coupled with the offers of sympathy in his difficulties numerous pledges and promises that benefited ourselves, when it would have been more magnanimous to act without any individual benefit accruing to us. That he had hoped to "raise" the powers of Toorkistan and others, not including Persia and Russia, to aid him in his war; but though we had not avowed such proceedings being disagreeable to us, it was clear

clear from the turn which things had taken, that they would be so also, and it was folly in him to persist in a course that excited our anger.

11. I replied to these observations, that his good feeling towards our nation was known, that his cordial, kind, and friendly treatment of the mission that had been sent to him was duly appreciated by Government; and, besides this public acknowledgment, it would remain engraven in my own memory while I lived; that what he objected to in the inference drawn from his Lordship's letter was, as it appeared to me, himself being the judge, an untenable opinion. With Runjeet Sing as our friend, were we to aid him in his wars? We had gone to the very limit of propriety in offering to give our good offices for peace, and we did so because it was earnestly to be desired for both parties. "Are we, however," said I, "to allow you to sit in Cabool, address Russia and Persia, bring agents from these countries, and publicly avow that you wish to disturb the peace of a friend on our frontiers? Thanks be to Providence and the valour of our army, we have no fear of foreign enemies; but when the house of a neighbour is fired, it is but good neighbourhood to put it out; and it is better to come to an understanding before the accident happens." That we regarded but little the dread of such an accident; but he knew that my presence here had reference to commercial matters, and that we saw in a discontinuance of these differences the benefit of all; that I could not possibly have misunderstood his addresses to foreign powers, regarding Maharaja Runjeet Sing; and that though I now admitted he wrote to one for money and to another for aid, still his ends were alike. I begged, moreover, explicitly to tell him, that I had not come to Cabool as a petitioner, but because he had solicited it; that I was not here to humble our Government before him or his countrymen, but to tell him that if he did not wish our good offices on the terms proposed he should dismiss me.

12. He professed himself shocked at this last proposition, and that inevitable disgrace would flow from it:—"You have been welcomed by every Mahomedan state since you left Bombay, from a belief that you were the bringer of good news to an unhappy race of men, whose internal discord has made them the prey of a nation of another faith. I dare not, if I wished it, set myself up against the Afghan people; the belief has gone abroad that your presence is connected with their advantage; and though I admit that I profit by it, still the objects of my heart are not fully accomplished. There are Afghans in Tak fighting in thousands at this hour against the Sikhs; they have aided me, and they looked to me, but their sufferings will have no abatement; but I throw myself upon the generosity of the Governor General of India, and I rely on the sympathy which his Lordship has expressed."

13. I congratulated the Ameer on his having seen his own interest better than to permit of friendship being interrupted between him and a nation so well disposed towards him; but that it was now my duty to tell him clearly what we expected of him, and what we could do in return:—"You must desist from all correspondence with Persia and Russia; you must never receive agents from [them*] or have aught to do with him without our sanction; you must dismiss Captain Vickovitch with courtesy; you must surrender all claim to Peshawur on your own account, as that chiefship belongs to Maharaja Runjeet Sing; you must live on friendly terms with that potentate; you must also respect the independence of Candahar and of Peshawur, and co-operate in arrangements to unite your family. In return for this, I promise to recommend to the Government that it use its good offices with its ancient ally, Maharaja Runjeet Sing, to remove present and future causes of difference between the Sikhs and Afghans at Peshawur; but as that chiefship belongs to the Maharaja, he may confer it on Sultan Mahomed Khan, or any other Afghan whom he chooses, on his own terms and tribute, it being understood that such arrangement is to preserve the credit and honour of all parties."

14. "To this I assent," said the Ameer; "but as these arrangements are not set forth in full in his Lordship's letter, it would be desirable for you to reduce the matter to writing, as far as your knowledge of the Governor General's views will permit you, that I may fairly see what is expected, and what is to be done in return. The differences of the Afghans and Sikhs can never be said to be adjusted, so long as the Maharaja keeps his troops and officers at Peshawur; and consequently, though I place every faith in the friendly intervention of the British, and know that the Maharaja must be left to himself, I am bound to state that fresh causes for disturbance must arise if his Highness does not place my

*Previously printed
"other powers."

my brother, or an Afghan, in Peshawur, and leave him to govern it, subject to his (the Maharaja's) orders, but without the presence of Sikh troops." I replied, that since the Ameer agreed himself to peace, it was better to leave these things to be settled hereafter, since the less that was now said about them the better.

15. I then enjoined the Ameer to use his utmost efforts to effect an union of the Barukzye family. I told him that [I had just heard from Lieutenant Leech] at Candahar, [by a private letter, that] the Sirdars were ready, on certain conditions, to attach themselves to the British Government whether he did or not, and that before I visited him I felt it my duty to send off an express [to Mr. Leech] to say that no such agreement ever would be made, since our object was to unite, and not to sow dissension among his family. As an instance of our good feeling, I would impart to him a plan of the Governor General, which might or might not come to maturity, but which showed how much his Lordship was interested in the prosperity of all parties. It was, that if the English became the mediators for peace at Herat, between the Shah and Kamran, it would be stipulated that the latter should in future cease to molest Candahar. "No such arrangement or stipulation may take place," said I; "but the intention must still remain as the proof of his Lordship's most friendly consideration."

16. Dost Mahomed Khan assured me that he highly appreciated this symptom of the Governor General's friendship, and also thanked me for having returned so prompt an answer to Candahar, inveighing at the same time against his brothers for their instability. I said that this arose from their weakness, which raised up alarm; but if united, they would add to their strength and his own. [He then recurred to the conditional offers of pecuniary assistance which had been made to them. I replied that they had declined them, on the general grounds of its being Herat and not Persia that they feared. "That was certainly the case," said he, "and of course alters the affair; but has the Governor General approved of these offers?" I stated that it was my duty to tell him that they had not met his Lordship's approbation, and that such was not the way which it appeared we could benefit this country, and restore it to peace and tranquillity. The state of agitation, and the want of instructions from matters arising of which Government could not possibly be informed, had led me in judging for myself to depart from its views, but fortunately no embarrassment had arisen; things remained as if these promises had never been given, and it was proper, in explanation of the present and future views of the Government, to state that such grants were not consistent with its policy.]

17. When I left the Ameer, he got up, and in an under-tone, so as not to be heard by his servants, said that he hoped the Government would bear in mind his peculiar situation, and see that his respect and name were preserved; that its good offices would be peculiarly directed so as to preserve these, since a failure with us might entail upon him greater disgrace than ever; for his hopes rested on agitation, and having ceased to agitate he thereby diminished his own strength, which, at an early interview after my arrival in Cabool, he had told me he was well aware was not one-tenth of that possessed by the Lahore Chief. On this the interview ended, and it will be seen that the subject of Persia was not even mentioned, inseparable as it appeared to be, and which, without a doubt, the [timely] intelligence from Herat prevented.

18. [Having thus, as it appeared to me, gained the ends desired by Government, I proceeded to improve this dawn of the good feelings towards his brothers, and sued for the Nuwab Jubbar Khan's co-operation in making up matters between the Ameer and Sultan Mahomed Khan. This most amiable man declared to me that the affair was easy, and begged that I would write to the Governor General, and say that he pledged himself to bring it about, and that there was but one difficulty which could prevent it, and this would be the disapproval of Maharaja Runjeet Singh. If this were no obstacle he would proceed at once to Peshawur, and bring all his brothers to Jelalabad, where they would be met by the Ameer, and in my presence he would get them to exchange papers; that the Peshawur family may come to Cabool in summer and the Ameer go to Peshawur in winter, each with a few hundred horse; and that further, he pledged himself to bring together the whole family from Candahar, or at least one of the brothers, to witness the much desired object of the restoration of harmony and unanimity in their house; on this he added, that all the Ameer's fears for his Peshawur adherents now with him would end, and the

affair

affair would be adjusted. I assured Nuwab Jubbur Khan that his exertions would receive high applause and appreciation, and that if things went right, and I happened to be present at this peace-making, I would consider it one of the most happy events that had ever occurred, and one which would rescue a brave nation from inevitable destruction. I do not believe the Nawab overrates his influence; he has great weight both at Peshawur and at Candahar, through Sooltan Mahomed Khan and Rahim Dil Khan; and when wars no longer disturb the peace of the eastern frontier of Afghanistan, these much wished-for objects will certainly follow.]

19. In the beginning of these proceedings it was the expressed wish of his Lordship that the differences of the Sikhs and Afghans should be healed, without an ostensible intervention on our part; I had little hope from the excitation that reigns in this country that this plan would be feasible, [as is amply proved by my previous correspondence.] After nearly a six months' residence in this city I am constrained to pronounce it perfectly hopeless. It is only out of regard to his Lordship and our feelings generally, that the Afghans have been taught to name Maharaja Runjeet Sing with becoming respect; and it is to be remembered that these people are elated at their partial success over Runjeet Sing's arms, though the Ameer himself knows that it was a sorry victory, and one without any beneficial consequences. It, however, unfortunately carried with it an impression that the attack might be successfully repeated; and the train of events which have followed would have led the Afghans, but for the presence of an agent of the British, to acts that must have altered the existing political condition of these countries.

20. The vast resources of Maharaja Runjeet Sing would have, as a matter of course, preserved to him his dominions; but the misrepresentations of the Persian elchee, Kumber Ali Khan, would have drawn the chiefs of Candahar and Cabool to aid in the Persian siege of Herat, and the resources of that kingdom and Afghanistan would have been thus arrayed against one city. Had it fallen, promises equally worthless would have led the Afghans to trust to Persia for prosecuting their wars to the eastward; and with the Kuzzilbash influence in this city (not in this country) their introduction must have been ruinous to the integrity of Afghanistan. [With Persia we should have had Russian influence in her train; and had the Ameer been disposed to doubt the sincerity of the Shah, the presence of the Russian agent, Captain Vickovitch, would have gone far to remove his suspicions.] The promises of [that gentleman,] I cannot at this time permit myself to believe made with the concurrence of the Emperor; but they remain uncontradicted, and must continue so for a time, so that they would have had at this crisis all the effect of truth, and led the Afghans headlong, as I consider, to ruin.

21. [With these facts before me, I felt that if it ever were his Lordship's intention, which I do not accurately discover, I could not propose to the Ameer of Cabool to send presents to Lahore as an opening to the establishment of a future friendship. The difficulties have been great without adding to them. Had Dost Mahomed Khan himself assented, the Mahomedan population would have despised him, and probably prevented it. The constitution of this country is also of that remarkable nature, that the whole community interfere in public affairs; and at an Afghan court, an agent has not only to combat the views of the ruler, but of all the people around him who take a part in the passing discussions. I have, however, through the agency of Mirza Samee Khan, discussed the question of sending a letter to the Maharaja, expressive of the Ameer's desire to have peace established with his Highness, since he now sees it is for his own good and that of all parties; and as the other influential Mirza concurred with me, I do not doubt but that I shall succeed on this point. I also hinted at the plan of sending an agent to the Governor General at his meeting with the Maharaja, and that that opportunity might be taken to make peace also with the Maharaja on the passage through the Punjab, which is in my own mind an admirable idea, and which I think may also be brought about.]

22. These suggestions were thrown out by me on the 9th instant, while visited by the two Mirzas above named, but I was pressed very hard on this occasion to give a paper to the effect that the Government would use its most strenuous endeavours to alter the state of things in Peshawur. To this I opposed every argument, showing it would be indelicate towards the Maharaja,

and if known, in all probability defeat the objects in view ; since any change in Peshawur must be optional with the Maharaja, and the passing of a written document, even of our own promise to exert ourselves would certainly be misconstrued. The Mirzas informed me that the Ameer attached great importance to this point, and did not think he would be disposed to give it up ; for if Peshawur were not surrendered in whole or in part to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, it would still protect his character with the Afghans, and prove no discredit to us. I replied that a want of confidence was inferred in asking for such a document, and supposing it to be given and told to the Afghans, every prospect of a release of Peshawur seemed to me gone. The Mirzas left me to visit the Ameer, but were far from satisfied with my arguments or my resolution.]

23. On the morning of the 10th, I received a deputation from the Ameer, consisting of the Nawab Hafizjee, the son of Meer Waez (a man who cut a conspicuous figure in Afghan history), and the Naib, or deputy of the Ameer, a Barukzye. The object of these personages was to draw from me the written document above alluded to, and besides giving reasons for its being withheld, I ran over with them the whole history of the Ameer's applications to our Government. [I said, that it appeared we were the favoured party, and not the Ameer and his brothers ; since this was the best opportunity which had presented itself to explain the interests of this country, the whole of the deputation being Soomnees, I asked them candidly to state what they could possibly expect from a Persian alliance. My opinions were exceedingly gratifying, I observed ; and they enlarged on the advantages of clinging firmly to the British. They left me to report to the Ameer what had passed.]

24. I had proceeded thus far with this Despatch, when notice of letters of a most embarrassing nature reached this from Candahar, in the course of the 12th instant. They convey the intimation of Mr. Goutte, the Russian agent with Mahomed Shah, having promised to get Count Simonitch to ratify the treaty of the Sirdars of Candahar with the Shah, and that a letter of a flattering nature had been addressed to these chiefs by the Shah himself. [As far as I am yet acquainted with these events, which is by private letter, I have made them known to his Lordship through the private secretary ; and I am necessarily compelled to break off in an abrupt manner, and leave for future report the turn which affairs may now take. At every step it will be seen that Russian and Persian influence counteracts our proceedings in these countries.]

Cabool, 13 March 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. Torrens,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

To *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Governor General of India,
Governor General's Camp.

Sir,

I do myself the honour to transmit, for the purpose of being laid before the Right honourable the Governor General of India, a paper on the prospects of trade with Toorkistan, in reference to the contemplated establishment of an annual fair on the banks of the Indus, drawn up at Koondooz, by Mr. Lord.

2. It will only be necessary to inspect the appendix of this authentic document to stamp its value, and exhibit the labour which it must have cost its author. The account of the Toorkistan trade must prove acceptable to the commercial community.

3. As the two concluding paragraphs of Mr. Lord's paper have reference to political matters, I have thought it advisable to remove them from it, and annex them to this letter. They appear to me to be very deserving of consideration ; and it is somewhat remarkable that that gentleman and myself, unknown to each other, should have adopted the same opinions regarding the favourable opportunity which now presents itself for maturing our commercial plans on the Indus.

Indus. I allude to the suggestion contained in the last para. of my letter of the 1st ultimo, and which may be thought more worthy of notice from the communication now forwarded.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*

On a Mission to Cabool.

Cabool, 15 March 1838.

The two concluding paras. of Mr. Lord's paper :—

23. " Before concluding, I would venture to point out one or two reasons which render the immediate establishment of this bazaar highly advisable. It is only last year that the Emperor of Russia, by a gross violation of the laws of nations, seized all the Orgunje merchants who, on the implicit pledge which such an establishment holds out, had resorted to his fair for the purposes of commerce. Forty of the principal of these unfortunate men have been sent to languish and die in Siberia, the very name of which conveys to the Asiatic mind the idea of everything dreadful; while the remainder, to the number it is said of 100, have been distributed as prisoners, or rather slaves, through the different garrison towns in the empire. This act has, for the present, excited unqualified disapprobation and terror amongst the Torkistan merchants; and, in consequence, I am informed that a much smaller kafila than usual has this year left Bokhara for Russia, and that it was composed rather of travellers than traders. Feelings, however, of this kind are soon overcome; the merchant finds a necessity for an outlet for his goods, and if we do not at once step in and take advantage of the crisis, by offering him a new and preferable mart, commerce will, after one or two years, quietly resume its ancient course, to divert it from which is always a matter of considerable difficulty. But there is another point which, even in a still stronger manner, evinces the necessity of our acting immediately. The possession of Khiva has long been a cherished object of Russian ambition, and, undoubtedly, she cannot too highly estimate the advantages it would give her in her commercial relations with Central Asia. It formed a stipulation in the curious partition treaty (Russia is formed of partition treaties) concluded so far back as 1725, between Peter the Great and the Sublime Porte, by which the former was to seize all the provinces around the Caspian, and the latter all those along the Euphrates and Tigris; each guaranteeing the other in the possessions so gained. Though foiled at the time by the death of its great projector, this scheme has never been lost sight of. M. de Meyendorff is particularly anxious that Russia should possess Khiva, for the great opportunities it would afford of increasing, in Western Asia, the salutary influence of Russia. But M. Mouraviev is much more explicit: 'En un mot,' he says, 'Khiva est en ce moment une poste avancée qui s'oppose au commerce de la Russie avec la Boukharie et l'Inde septentrionale; sous notre dépendance la Khivie serait devenue une sauvegarde qui aurait défendu ce commerce contre les attaques des peuplades dispersées dans les stèpes de l'Asie meridionale. Cette oasis, située au milieu d'un océan de sable, serait devenue le point de réunion de tout le commerce de l'Asie, et aurait ébranlé, jusqu'au centre de l'Inde, l'énorme supériorité des dominateurs de la mer.'

Of the expediency of establishing the fair immediately

" This is at least plain, and it becomes us to consider what measures may be in progress towards accomplishing an object so beneficial to Russia and so much the reverse to us; and it at once occurs that a Persian force, moved avowedly by Russian influence, is this moment engaged in besieging Herat. A detached corps, under the Governor of Khorasan, has already received the submissions and hostages of Meimuna, Shibbergaum, and Andkhoe; and my information further bears, that one of the stipulations in the treaty is, for a safe passage for the Persian army to Balkh. Now Balkh is in itself nothing, a mere *nominis umbra*, devoid alike of wealth to tempt and strength to repel the attacks of an enemy. Bokhara, to which it belongs, is, therefore, the obvious object of this move; and Bokhara, at present under a weak, vicious, and tyrannical ruler, is sure to make a ready submission, or suffer an inglorious defeat. There remains, then, but one step further to Khiva, and this step neither Russia nor Persia will be slow to take, seeing there are 3,000 subjects of the former power and 30,000 of the latter, at this moment in slavery within its limits. Russia thus holding in its own hands Khiva, and guaranteeing Persia in possession of Herat, will

have a basis for operations, whether commercial, political, or military, in Central Asia, such as it can never be our interest to permit. The project, however, can only be defeated by anticipating it; at once establish our mart, and with it our commercial influence through all Turkistan. Commercial influence can, when requisite, with a little skill be converted into political, and an active and enterprising agent might even succeed, though the task would be by no means easy, in binding the discordant elements of the Uzbek nations into one grand confederacy, which, actuated by their intense hatred to the Persian name and religion, the only common sentiment I have as yet been able to detect amongst them, would oppose an effectual barrier in this quarter to the progress of Russian and Persian ambition.

“Koondooz, 22 February 1838.”

(True extract.)

(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

PROSPECTS of Trade with Turkistan, in reference to the contemplated Establishment of an Annual Fair on the Banks of the Indus. By *P. B. Lord, Esq.*

- Nature of project.** “LITTLE utterance and less profit,” has been the proverbial description of English trade with Central Asia, from the middle of the 16th century to the present day, and there is no doubt that were we to follow in the steps of Anthony Jenkins, we should find the description not more proverbial than true; but now that the enterprise of the British Government is about to avail itself of the new commercial route afforded by the grand navigable stream of the Indus, and to establish on its banks a mart at which the merchandise of Europe, Hindoostan, and the Punjab may be exchanged for that of Kabul and Kandahar, of Meshid and Herat, of Orgunje, Bokhara, and Koondooz, new prospects offer themselves, and we are struck with the project, at once magnificent and feasible, of drawing from these vast regions the raw produce which they afford in an exuberant abundance, and supplying them in return with our manufactured goods, with which neither their industry nor their skill enable them to compete.
- Of the requisites to its success.** 2. To the success of this project, as far as regards Turkistan, the only part of which it is my province to speak, nothing further is necessary than the native merchants should be induced to seek at our fair the supply of European goods, for which they have hitherto, by a long and hazardous route, been accustomed to resort to the bazaar of Nijnee Novogrod, and to effect this change there are three requisites:—1st. That we should be able to supply goods of the desired quantity and description on equally or more eligible terms. 2d. That the road, which in point of natural advantages infinitely surpasses the route to Russia, should be free from the artificial restrictions of exorbitant, varying, and vexatious taxation. And 3d. That intelligence regarding the general protection given to commerce by our Government, and its particular views in establishing this new fair, should be fully and freely disseminated amongst the native community.
- First, of the nature and price of goods.** 3. To assist our merchants in meeting the first requisite, I have drawn up what I believe to be a very accurate account of the annual sales of the bazaar of Koondooz, the only bazaar to which as yet I have had access, and which, being the central emporium of the dominions of Meer Mahomed Moorad Beg, may be looked on as affording a fair standard of the wants and taste of the whole Uzbek nation and its dependencies. In this I have given,—
- 1st. The nature and quantity of Russian goods brought from Bokhara, and yearly sold in this bazaar; the mode in which sold; the sale prices at Bokhara and here, so as to exhibit the gross profit to the merchant, leaving the expenses of the carriage and customs to be deducted, of which I shall speak afterwards.
- 2d. The same specification regarding Chinese goods brought from Bokhara, the direct route to Yarkund and Kashgar from this having been for some years closed by the predatory habits of the Kirghiz and other wandering tribes, who are hostile to the present chief of Koondooz.
- 3d. The same specification respecting goods, the produce of Bokhara.
- 4th. The same specification respecting the imports from Cabool, including goods of England, Hindustan, Peshawur, and Cabool.
- 5th. The nature, and as far as I could ascertain, the quantities of native manufacture and produce sold in this bazaar; and,
- 6th. A short specification of the goods exported to Bokhara and Cabool.
- These will be found in an Appendix; and I have added to them a detailed statement of the bazaar as it exists, with tables of weights, measures, and monies; and to complete the whole, have forwarded specimens of all the manufactured articles with which it seems possible we could compete, and of all the raw produce which it might be advantageous for us to export.
- N.B.** These will be forwarded when a fitting opportunity presents itself.
- A. B.** 4. As regards the road to be travelled all advantages are on our side. From Bokhara to Orenburg is a journey of two months, and Nijnee Novogrod a further journey of 28 days; whereas Bokhara to Khooloom is 18 days; 18 more to Cabool (in summer only 12, over the

the pass of Hindoo Koosh), and a further 14-18 days according as the *kafila* is destined for Dera Ismael or Dera Ghazi Khan; the total of the Russian route being three months, that of the Indus six to eight weeks. Again, the former road lies for the greater part through an inhospitable desert, in which water is scarce, and bad provisions and forage not to be found; firewood scanty, and the only inhabitants roving, predatory bands. The latter, on the contrary, except for about five marches between Bokhara and the Oxus, is altogether through countries thickly inhabited, well-watered countries, and in which *kafilas* are under the special protection of Government, instances of their being plundered being almost unknown.

5. Then, as regards the expenses, the hire of a camel from Bokhara to Nijnei Novograd is 12 *tillas*; the tax at Orenburg, or whatever Russian custom-house is first reached, is 5 per cent. on all goods, besides a further tax on Kashmere shawls of 11 *tillas* per pair; in addition to which the desert tribes, when they forbear to plunder a *kafila*, never fail to exact a heavy contribution as the price of the immunity. The goods, also, on leaving Bokhara, pay the usual 2½ per cent., if of foreign produce, and belonging to Musulman; but if they are the property of Jew, Hindoo, or Armenian, then 5 per cent. is exacted. Goods, the produce of Bokhara, leave Bokhara free.

6. The same sort of regulations hold good respecting goods sent towards India which, if Russian or Chinese, pay as above; if of Bokhara, go free: but all goods pay four "shaces" a load at crossing the ferry of the Oxus, and five "shaces" on entering the gates of Khooloom. Here commences a rather complicated system of taxation. Both Dost Mahomed Khan and Mahomed Murad Beg have been the founders of their own power; and in progressing towards it have been frequently obliged to be content with partial submission, or to concede to inferior chieftains rights, which properly should centre in the governing head. Thus the two sons of Kilich Ali Beg, formerly a chieftain of considerable power in this country, have been allowed by Murad Beg, each to exact a small tax per load on every *kafila* that passes through their towns of Khooloom and Heibak, and these towns, be it observed, cannot be avoided. The lesser rulers also of Syghan, Kamurd, Bujgan, &c., have the same privilege, though in a lesser degree. Again, on the Cabool side this privilege is possessed and exercised by the several Huzarah tribes dwelling in the valleys between Gurdun-i-Dewan and Hajee Ghuk; so that the merchant is almost at every stage subjected to a fresh taxation, not very serious in its amount, but often rendered extremely vexatious in its mode of collection.

7. To exemplify this a load of *keriana* (the common term, including drugs, dye stuff, groceries and spices) in coming from Kabul to Khooloom, will pay—

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>grs.</i>	<i>pie.</i>	
In Kabul at loading	3	—	—	
At gate of ditto	—	—	3	
Chouky	—	1	—	} N.B. I have reduced all the charges to Cabool currency.
Sufaid Khak	—	—	1	
Oonna Suchasma	—	—	12	
To Meer Kasim (Huzara)	1	—	12	
Dusht-i-Yurd	—	—	12	
Jaokoal	—	—	3	
Kaloo, a piece of cloth from whole caravan.	—	—	—	
Bunneca	3	3	—	
Total at Cabool side	5	3	1	
Agrabad	—	—	6	
Sokhta Chenar	—	—	6	
Syghun	—	2	1	
Kamurd, a piece of cloth, as at Kaloo	—	—	—	
Bujgan	—	—	10	
Saibagh	3	2	—	
Heibuk	1	3	—	
Khooloom	—	2	—	
Ditto Meer's tax	7	2	—	
Total at Koondooz side	14	—	8	
Total taxes in a load of <i>Keriana</i>	19	3	9	

8. Now, the total value of a load of *keriana*, were it all to consist of sugar and spices, would not, at the Cabool prices, exceed 400 rupees, so that the above tax would amount to about 5 per cent. in the proportion of 1½ to Cabool and 3½ to Koondooz. But were the load to consist of common dye stuffs, such as the *Ispuruk* and *Buzgunje* sent from hence, the same tax would be levied, while its amount would equal the value of the entire load, to that by a mistake, not uncommon in the early stages of political economy, they lay a sight tax of 5 per cent. on valuable articles of foreign growth, and under the same denomination, an oppressive tax of 100 per cent. on bulky articles of home produce. Of this, however, we at least have no reason to complain, as the mistake is altogether in our favour; but the abolition or consolidation of the smaller and more vexatious taxes above enumerated

rated would be felt as a sensible relief by the merchant, and might fairly be made the subject of commercial negotiation.

9. One of the above taxes is so absurdly ridiculous that it merits explanation. Three and a half rupees are exacted at Sarbagh, not for Sarbagh itself, but for the customs of Ghoree and Kinjan. Now, those places are not on the Bunnicean road, but on the road to the pass of Hindoo Kush, over which the kafila may have no intention of going, or over which at the time it may not be possible for it to go, as it is closed by snow for eight months in the year. All this is of no consequence; the tax must be paid, as here the two roads separate; and having paid it, the kafila is then at liberty to go which it likes or which it can. If it takes the road over Hindoo Kush, the total expenses are somewhat less, amounting per load of kenna to about 15 rupees. The remaining system of duties in Khooloom, whether the goods come from Cabool or Bokhara, is as follows, viz. :—

	<i>Tillas.</i>
Silk and silk goods, per load - - - - -	4
Europe cloths (chintz, muslin, &c.) per ditto - - - - -	3½
Hindoostanee cloths, fine (gauze, kincob, &c.) ditto - - - - -	3½
Ditto coarse (Mooltan and cotton chinizes, &c.) - - - - -	3
Kuiana (spices, groceries, dye stuffs, drugs) - - - - -	1½
Except indigo and chers (cannabis satem) which pay - - - - -	3
Cotton, tobacco, sulphur of native produce, if exported, pay, per load - - - - -	½
In addition to which Meer Walee takes <i>R.</i> ¼, and Bala Beg, <i>R.</i> ¼.	
Pestachios, jujuber, and other fruit, per load - - - - -	<i>Rs.</i> 3½
In addition 1½ rupees on the road, and 5 rupees in Cabool, being a total of 10 rupees per load, which (<i>see</i> App: VI.) rather exceeds the prime cost of the goods.	

The remainder of the road from Cabool to the Indus is in better hands than mine, so that I shall say nothing further respecting it, than just by way of giving a general idea of the expenses, to add, that a few days since I saw a letter from a factor in Cabool to his employer here, advising him that he had dispatched on his account two loads of silk from Cabool to Multan, and that the entire expense of the hire and transit duties (not of course including the taxes in these two cities) had amounted to 20 rupees Kabuli per load.

1. Of the diffusion of intelligence.

10. The diffusion of intelligence is the next and no less important requisite. This, as far as regards Kabul and Kandahar, may be considered most effectually provided for in the presence of Captain Burnes and Lieutenant Leech; nor have I, though furnished with no authority, hesitated whenever an opportunity has occurred in this country to explain to all individuals, mercantile as well as political, who might appear concerned, the views of our Government respecting the establishment of a bazaar on the banks of the Indus, and to point out the vast benefits which would result from such a step to the dominions of Meer Mahomed Murad Beg, not only as affording them a ready outlet for their productions, and a mart at which they may supply themselves with the manufactures of Europe and India on favourable terms, but further, as tending to turn into this road the entire or a great portion of the trade which, to the yearly value of 30 lakhs of rupees, is now carried on between Bokhara and Russia; so that without trouble or expense on their part, their ruler would in the common transit duties gain a magnificent addition to his money revenue, while the people would have supplies of all kinds of merchandise in the greatest abundance; and their country, resorted to by such crowds of merchants, could not fail to become rich, tranquil, and happy. I may add that Murad Beg has expressed his unqualified approbation of the scheme, and his anxiety for its success; and has commissioned his confidential secretary, Meerza Budeea, to assure me, that if the value of one pul (the lowest copper coin) be lost from Muzar to Bumeean, he is ready to replace it. I have no doubt a similar avowal might be got from him in an official form by any person authorised to ask it; but, wanting that authority, I have never spoken to him directly on the subject, though I have taken care that he should be indirectly made acquainted with it. There still, however, remain Bokhara, Orgunje, Herat, and Meshid, to which it is of the utmost importance that information of this new establishment should be sent, and there is evidently no mode of doing this equally to the deputation of an authorised British agent.

the kind of goods it may be most profitable to d.

11. These may in general be inferred from an inspection of the Appendix, in which the prices and quantities consumed are both entered. I shall therefore only specify a few of the most important. Broad cloths command a ready sale and good price. Those that reach this market are all of a very inferior description (*see* specimen); but I am assured by Airua, the principal Hindoo merchant in this country, and farmer of all the customs and transit duties, that a better description would fetch a proportionably higher price, and in Bokhara particularly meet with an extensive demand. He says he himself purchased several pieces of fine cloth brought here by poor Moorcroft, and immediately sold them to considerable advantage. The best colours are scarlet, sky and garter blue, and bottle green. Dark blue they do not distinguish from black, and dislike. A drab is worn by the graver sort of persons, and a bright yellow is much used by those who have a taste for something gaudy. This colour is also chosen for saddle cloths. The sale of broad cloth in this single bazaar amounts, it will be observed, to from 6,000 to 10,000 rupees a year; a better article, sold at moderate profits, would, I am inclined to think, quickly double the sale.

12. Chintzes

12. Chintzes and other piece goods already come in quantities from India. Of course with water carriage at our command, there can be no difficulty in supplying such goods at a much cheaper rate than when, as at present, they have reached this market, either from Bombay *viâ* Palee, or from Calcutta *viâ* Unritser. Under such circumstances, a large increase in the sale of our cottons may be looked for. The stronger fabrics, nankeens, fustians, it will be observed, come chiefly from Russia. This demand must now be supplied at the Indus fair, and the price shows that, even allowing the 30 per cent. profit, which, according to M. de Meyendorff, the Bokhara merchant requires, the speculation will still be advantageous. Fustians, with watered and damasked patterns, similar to what are seen on furniture, moreens in England, are at present in request here, and such should form part of an investment; striped patterns (see specimens), are also in good request. The total value of Russian cotton goods at present sold in the single bazaar of Kundooz amounts to about 15,000 rupees per annum, and at least double that amount should be estimated for the bazaars of Khooloom Talikan and Huzrut Imaum, also within Murad Beg's dominions. We may thus put down half a lack of rupees for the yearly value of the Russian cottons consumed in this small State, and not less than four times that amount, or two lacks of rupees, for the piece goods of England, Hindoostan, and the Punjab, which principally reach this by the way of Multan, Dera Ghazi or Dera Ismael Khan, and Cabool.

13. The silks of Bokhara, of which I send numerous specimens, next merit attention. It might seem hazardous to attempt a competition in silk manufacture with a silk-growing and silk-manufacturing country; but the well-known instance of our cotton fabrics underselling those of India in the Indian market, shows the project to be not only feasible, but profitable. The silks of Bokhara sell to the annual amount of not less than (5) five lacks of rupees in this country, and therefore are well worthy of consideration: they all contain a mixture of cotton, and so should any we send to rival them; for substance is particularly looked for, and flimsy articles would not sell. We can at least have no difficulty in beating out of the field their handkerchiefs, an article of very great consumption, chiefly amongst women, and without exception the most wretched fabrics I have ever seen. Their manufacturing silk is so very low, that they cannot even weave a handkerchief entire of more than an "alcheen" wide. In such case it is woven in breadths, which are afterwards stitched together.

14. In the article hardware, cast-iron pots are in a great demand, there being no house without one or more; and as they are fragile articles, the demand is constant. I can see no reason why the whole of this trade should not at once fall into our hands, as the freight of a ton of iron goods from England to the mouth of the Indus is considerably less than the hire of a camel to bring a quarter of a ton from Orenbourg to Bokhara. On the same grounds, bar-iron, steel, copper, and tin, must be all purchased from us as soon as our mart is opened. Razors, penknives, and scissors, in moderate quantities, would form a tolerably good investment; but the high prices (in proportion to their quality), at which they have been hitherto sold, has prevented the habit of using them from being established. It would be necessary, therefore, to avoid glutting the market at first; a moderate supply engenders a habit which in its turn produces increased demand; whereas an overstock lies heavy on the hands of the native merchant, and deters him from similar speculations in future. The best penknives to send would be those with many blades; small scissors are preferred; common razors, if neatly done up in morocco cases, would take.

15. Common glass and china-ware, under the same restrictions, would be found to answer. The china-ware should be rather bowls than cups, the glass green and white bottles, with small common mirrors. In Bokhara, cast and cut glass is, I am told, highly esteemed, and would fetch a good price.

Tea is an article in the greatest request amongst the whole Uzbek nation, and the consumption of which is only limited by their means of procuring it. The whole supply is at present brought by Kufilas from Kashgar and Yar Kund, a journey of 25 days, to Bokhara, and the greater part of it is of a description inferior to any I have ever seen in India. Small quantities of Banca tea, which is of very fine flavour, are brought, but the price is so extravagant as to put it beyond the reach of any but the Meer, and a few principal merchants. Zeracha, a tolerably good green tea, sells in Bokhara for (7) seven mallas the dongera seer, a parcel weighing 400 toh. This is equivalent to nearly two rupees the pound, and better tea can be got in Bombay, even by retail, at a lower rate. We are, therefore, fairly invited to competition here; and as the taste for tea is not confined to the Uzbek, but would doubtless extend to the Afghans, were the article placed within their reach, I seem to detect in this establishment of a fair on the banks of the Indus the commencement of a considerable increase to our already enormous tea trade.

16. Sugar, paper, indigo, and various other articles, which it is unnecessary to particularise more fully, will suggest themselves on looking over the Appendix. One general remark may be added before leaving this part of the subject. Bokhara is much further advanced in luxury than the comparatively rude Uzbek States, amongst which I am living; and her merchants, from long access to the Russian fairs, have become fully acquainted with European articles of the best quality, the taste for which they have, to a certain extent, introduced amongst their countrymen. In preparing an assortment for the Indus mart, this should always be held in view; and while the general supply for the country should be of the coarse and substantial nature I have indicated, a stock of what is more rare and costly will be required for the capital.

17. The principal exports of this country at present are the Bokhara slaves, furs, and sheep to Cabool, gold, silk, sheep, cotton, and horses. The gold is brought down by the Oxus. Of the returns that may be expected.

Oxus and its tributaries, during the swell, caused by the melting of the snow in summer, and is washed from the deposited sand and lime when the river shrinks in winter. It is found in dust, in grains, and in leaves deposited on and around pebbles in the course of the stream. The quantity annually procured is, by the lowest estimate, 12,000 nuscals, or nearly 146 lbs. troy. This estimate I got from Atma, the Hindoo merchant and tax farmer before mentioned, who is himself engaged in the collection: other estimates procured from inhabitants of the different places at which gold is washed, as well as from Hindoo goldsmiths who come here for the purpose of purchasing it, would considerably raise the amount. The following, which I got from one of these latter individuals, though, doubtless, an exaggeration, and incorrect as regards the tax, is yet valuable, as showing the places at which it is collected, and giving some idea of their relative productiveness.

NAME OF STATION.	YEARLY AMOUNT OF GOLD IN NUSCALS.	YEARLY TAX TAKEN IN NUSCALS.
1. Rooslakh - - -	9,000	250
2. Chail and Kokchu - -	11,000	450
3. Yung Kula - - -	7,000	150
4. Syud - - -	1,000	300
5. Huzrut Imam - - -	20,000	150
6. Kolab - - -	8,000	300
7. Kurgban, Upper - -	900	60
8. Buduk Shan - - -	900	200
9. Bughlan - - -	300	50
TOTAL - - -	58,100	1,910

About 500 families are said to be employed in this kind of labour, and none can embark in it without receiving permission from the Meer, to whom also they are obliged not only to pay a tax, but further to sell whatever quantity of the gold he may require at the reduced rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per nusal. But small quantities of gold, 10-30 nuscals, are secretly washed by the inhabitants at numerous small villages, principally up in Buduk Shan, as well as in the Kafir country, and this gold is generally purchased by the Hindoo goldsmiths I have mentioned, for a small quantity of pepper, coarse cloth, turmeric, glass beads, or a few needles, with which they provide themselves for the purpose. Several of these men make large fortunes by taking to Umrutser the gold which they thus collect here in a few years.

The market price of gold here is uncommonly low, being not more than nine or ten times its weight of silver, one nusal of gold selling on an average for four rupees, each weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ nuscals; in Bokhara it fetches 14 times its weight of silver, and in Bombay, if I mistake not, one tola of gold not unfrequently sells for 18 rupees, i. e. 18 coined tolas of sterling silver.

18. Buduk Shan, which now forms part of Murad Beg's dominions, has been known since the days of Marco Polo, as the country producing the real bulap ruby, as well as the lajverd or lapis lazuli, from which is made the beautiful blue pigment called ultramarine. The mines of both still exist, though no longer worked, for want of capital and skill. These are wants we could readily supply; and if the American companies have not spoiled the taste for mining speculations, few more advantageous fields could be found than the countries of Dost Mahomed Khan and Mahomed Murad Beg. Regarding a few of the mines of the former, I have already spoken in a previous paper, some of the latter including those of rubies and lapis lazuli. Lieutenant Wood is at present engaged in exploring, and I shall not anticipate his report. I may, however, mention, that at Baljewur, one day's journey north of the Oxus, is a lead mine, so rich, that the people who work at it for two months in the year are said to be able to live on the produce the remaining ten months, and that in the immediate vicinity of this is a large hill, called the Koh-i-meerial, from which is extracted a coal of a good quality, much resembling the Bovey coal of England, and used as firing by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. A specimen of the coal, with a few details respecting the formation in which it occurs, I have already transmitted to Captain Burnes.

19. Leaving, however, these matters that are doubtful or distant, silk is a commodity at present produced in abundance, and which could be cultivated, if desirable, to an almost indefinite extent. The vale of the Oxus seems peculiarly adapted to its produce, and the best specimens in this market uniformly come from Koubadian and Huzrat Imam, on its north and south banks. The silk of Bokhara is spoken of as being still better. The price here is extremely low at present, eight rupees for 100 tolas, which is not quite two rupees per pound avoirdupois, and the export tax being moderate, we might advantageously become purchasers to a large amount on the banks of the Indus. In fact, as I have already shown, it even now finds its way there, being more particularly used in the rich fabrics of Multan. It is said that from 50 to 100 loads leave this country annually; but regarding this, I have no certain information.

This

This country contains 20 lakhs of sheep. The number is easily ascertained, for they pay a yearly tax of one in 50. Meer Mahomed Beg, brother of the chief, gave me the numbers thus produced, and they were:—

To Meer Mahomed Murad Beg	-	-	-	22,000
To Meer Atalik Beg (his eldest son)	-	-	-	8,000
To Meer Mahomed Beg (his brother)	-	-	-	5,000
Total	-	-	-	35,000

which, at two per cent., gives 17½ lacks. Meer Murad Beg is himself owner of nearly a lack; and about a lack and a half more belongs to his brother, son, and other privileged persons, from whom no tax is levied. These sheep are all of the broad-tailed species called doomba, and in general make very fine mutton; they sell here at from one to three rupees each, very seldom indeed so much as the latter. Exported to Cabool, they produce a profit of about two rupees a-head over and above all expenses, and the shepherds here willingly go to Cabool, as, in consequence of water and pasturage being abundant the whole way, their sheep always arrive in good condition; but they dread the road to Bokhara, in consequence of the sterile sandy tract between the river and the city. The wool is seldom shorn, or rather plucked, as they prefer selling the sheep with the wool on it, in which case the skin is used to make posteen. However, wool, if required, may be got, and I send specimens, not only of this, but of the Thibet shawl goat got in this country, and also of the common goats' and camels' hair, which are all to be had in quantities. Furs are to be had here, and are generally sent to Bokhara, whence they probably go on to Russia; some of them are very beautiful, such as the dulah khufuk, a small animal, I believe, of the weasel kind (but I have not yet got a specimen), and the otter. I paid for a cloak, lined with the former, 130 rupees here, and have seen worse fetch double that price in Cabool; a single otter skin sells even here for nine rupees.

20. The horses of this country have long been famous, and they well deserve their character. The importation of them into India has for some time ceased, in consequence of the establishment of the company's studs; yet I cannot help thinking that a mixture of Foorkman blood would wonderfully improve the remount of our cavalry corps at Bombay. The horse of this country has size, strength, spirit, temper, and an almost incredible power of endurance; these are qualities of first-rate importance. The best are to be had beyond Balk, and principally at Sereepool, the breed of which is famous. Their prices are sufficiently moderate; 100 rupees will get a strong servicable animal, 14-2 to 15 hands high, with girth in proportion, and double that sum will get quite a showy charger. There is a tax of a tillah on each horse exported, and something further is taken at Cabool; still, allowing all expenses, it appears to me they could be landed at Bombay for a price lower than is now paid for inferior animals. It is probable, however, that Government are already in possession of the lamented Mr. Moorcroft's opinions on this subject, which are far superior to anything I have to offer. He had himself, I am told, purchased 60 beautiful horses in the country below Balk, which at his death were seized with the rest of his property.

21. As for grain, its production in this country is limited, by its being all but unsaleable: any man who chooses may have ground to cultivate, on the condition of paying an eighth of the produce to the Meer; a rupee buys a large bag of wheat, weighing more than two cwt. English, and in many places two bags can be had for the money. Barley is still cheaper; rice, two rupees a bag; flour, one-and-half cwt., a rupee. There is probably no country in which life can be supported cheaper and better. The money is scarce; there is no absolute poverty. I have now been here nearly three months, and I have never seen a man in rags; the beggars ride.

I had almost forgot to mention cotton and tobacco, which both grow here of good quality, and are generally sent to Cabool.

Fruits are in abundance, but none of them are exported that I know of except pistachio; and the unab or jujubee isparuk and bazgemje (*see* Appendix, No. V.), both used in drying, are also exported. The former is a genesta, the latter either the blossom of the pistachio, as all my informants say, or a gull formed on the tree, as M. de Meyendorff describes it.

22. There can be no difficulty in fixing this for the cold weather; during the hot, the mouths of the Indus are closed by the swell; business cannot be done with the thermometer as we experienced it, at 110° in the shade, nor can merchants return conveniently either by land or by water during the monsoon. The cold weather then being assumed, the kafilas from this side must have all reached Cabool before the middle of December, for the road of Bamean, though open to cossids and foot passengers all the year round, is virtually closed to kafilas from the end of December to the end of March. The merchants from this quarter, therefore, will reach the banks of the Indus early in January, and the same time is most favourable for boats coming up from Bombay, as at that period the river is low, the winds moderate, and the N. W. monsoon, which towards the end of January and beginning of February blows with much violence off the southern coast of Sindh, has not yet commenced. The period occupied by the Russian fair is generally from 40 days to two months: suppose our fair to occupy the same time, and that 10 days or a fortnight further are employed in transferring goods, settling customs, hiring carriage, &c., the Turkistan merchant will be on his return about the middle of March, reach Cabool the end of that month, and find the road back just opening for his passage. The merchants of Hindoostan and the Punjab will arrive at their respective homes before the setting in of the rains, and the boats will float down with the first rise of the river, and reach Bombay with the finest weather.

weather during all April. After having arrived at this conclusion, I received from Captain Burnes a copy of a report which he has made regarding the establishment of this fair, and have the great satisfaction to find that, proceeding from totally different data, he has fixed exactly the same time for the assembling of the merchants as I have been led to do, from the consideration of natural phenomena.

Koondooz, 22 February 1838.

(signed) *P. B. Lord, M. B.*

Of Captain Burnes' Mission detached to Koondooz.

(True copy.)
(signed) *Alex. Burnes,*
On a Mission to Cabool.

Appendix.

Showing Annual Sales in the Bazaar of Koondooz.

No. I.—RUSSIAN GOODS brought from Bokhara.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT BOKHARA.	PRICE AT KOONDooZ.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
		<i>Tillas.</i>	<i>Tillas.</i>		
Broad Cloth, viz.:					
Gul-i-anar, scarlet - -	per piece of 24 alcheens	10	12 to 14	60 to 100 pieces	The measures, in English feet and inches, will be found attached to the specimens.
Surkh, madder - - -	- - - - -	8	9 to 10	10 to 20 do.	
Pilla, yellow - - -	- - - - -	10	12 to 13	18 to 25 do.	
Ridi, sky blue - - -	- - - - -	11	12 to 13	30 to 40. do.	
Zerbuft Juta (false brocade)	per piece of 32 alcheens	3	4	50 - - do.	
Suf, or white cotton cloth -	per kori of 20 pieces, each piece 8 guz.	14	18 to 20	300 to 400 do.	For women's clothing.
Chint Murka, in coarse chintz of various colours, and prints.	per piece - - -	1½	2	400 to 500, or more.	Worn by all the peasants.
Mukmul, 60 roosi (cotton velvet).	per piece of 48 alcheens	5	6 to 6½	50 - - do.	Breadth, 1 ft. 4 in.
Nanke (nankeen or fustian)					
„ sawe, green - - -	per piece of 48 alcheens	1½	1½ to 7 rupees	200 - do.	Much worn; the striped is preferred: see specimens.
„ chitta, white - - -	per ditto - - -	1½	1½ to 7 rupees		
„ zerd, yellow - - -	per ditto - - -	1½	1½ to 7 rupees		
„ budasmani, purple -	per ditto - - -	1½	1½ to 7 rupees		
„ asmani, blue - - -	per ditto - - -	1½	1½ to 7 rupees		
„ alucha, striped - -	per ditto - - -	1½	2 to 10 rupees		
Chint guli anar (red flowered chintz).	per piece of 40 alcheens	4	5	100 - - do.	
Serje (a coarse kind of nanke, flowered or watered).	per piece of 42 alcheens	1½	2½ to 3	100 - - do.	
Roomal borossee (cotton handkerchiefs).	- - - - -	13 for 1	9 for 1	250 - - do.	Light patterns sell best: see specimen.
Nafonnair (shot silk) -	per alcheen - - -	1½	- - -	Only brought in small quantities for Meer; no specimens to be had.	
Guli anar (chintz) mukhamli.	per ditto - - -	½	- - -		
Makmuliferingi (velvet) -	per ditto - - -	1 to 1½	- - -		
Needles, of sizes - - -	per bundle of 16 papers; quantity, 250 each.	16 tunga	1	100 bundles -	A few English needles latterly come here; but they are too fine, and do not sell.
Steel, in thin bars - - -	per mun - - -	9½ to 8	9½ to 10	4 muns - -	For knives, steel for flints, &c.
Iron rods - - - - -	per ditto - - -	5½	6	8 to 10	For horseshoes, nails, &c.
Ditto, in thin pieces, for shoeing wheels or making guns.	per ditto - - -	4½	5 to 6	10 to 15	
Cast-iron pots, of sizes, viz.	per load, containing 10 to 50 pots, and weighing two mun, Bokhara.	8	10	20 to 25 loads	Much used.
Large - - - - -	- - - - -	11	14		
Small - - - - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -		
Razors - - - - -	per 100 - - -	3 to 4	3 to 5	perhaps 100 at most.	
Scissors - - - - -	per ditto - - -	2 to 2½	3	200 to 250	
Penknives - - - - -	- - - - -	about 1 rupee each.	- - -	20 to 50	

No. I.—Russian Goods brought from Bokhara—continued.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT BOKHARA.	PRICE AT KOONDooZ.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
Copper - - - -	per mun of bhokum -	<i>Tillas.</i> 24	<i>Tillas.</i> 28 to 30	7	If pice are coined, or a gun cast, 15 to 40 • muns are required.
Tin - - - -	per pond, of 800 toli -	5	7 to 7½	7 to 10 ponds	Tinning pots, &c.
Kulabutto (tinsel thread) -	per pond - - - -	7	retailed in nus- kats, from 10 to 12.	" 1 pond	Embroidery.
Padlocks, of sizes - -	per 100 - - - -	- - -	3 for 1 rupee -	600	
Gun locks - - - -	per score - - - -	5	7	200 to 250	Not used by Uzbeks; all bought by people from Hindoo Koosh.
Quicksilver - - - -	per furkan (bladder); quantity, 21 tola.	2½ or 3 furkas for 1 rupee.	1½ or 2 furkas, for 1 rupee.	200 to 250 fur- kas.	Used in refining gold.
Bujaki (ducats); gold coin	- - - -	- - -	3½ rillas -	} Generally sent in to Cabool.	
Sum (roubles); silver coin	- - - -	- - -	4 to 10 tongo		
Zungul (verdegris) - -	per pond - - - -	4 to 5	6 to 6½	1 to 2 ponds	
Nila rota (blue stone) -	ditto - - - -	3½ to 4	4½ to 5	5 to 6 ponds	Used for scale rot in sheep, &c.
Josha (vermilion) - -	ditto - - - -	17	22½	trifling.	
Kumiz (cochineal) - -	ditto - - - -	run 40	60	1 pond	Various prices extrema- ly, even up to 8 to 100 tillas per pond.
Shirmahi (tooth of fish) -	ditto - - - -	10	12 to 13	3 to 4 ponds	Handles of knives and swords.
Bulgar (Russian leather) -	per skin - - - -	1½ rupees	2½ rupees	30 to 40 skins.	
Kernia (kid skin) - -	ditto - - - -	1 rupee	1½ rupees	100 skins	
Paper, viz.: White - -	1 tope, 40 dusta; and 1 dusta=12 sheets.	2 tope for 1	1½ rupees	50 topes	
" Blue glazed - -		1 tope for 1	1½ rupees	very little.	
" Coarse - -		3 tope for 1	1½ rupees	80 to 100 topes	
Wooden boxes, of sizes -	each - - - -	1 to 5	profit of 30 per cent.	50	Brought here by the Kutilas Fall, and when exported, sold at a profit.
Daki fringi (very fine mus- lin).	per piece of 60 alcheens	7 to 8	11	5 or 6 pieces -	Brought only for Meer.
Chini muskani (Russian china ware, with gold edges and rings).	per set of six cups, cream jug, teapot, bowl.	1½ to 1½	2 to 2½	2 or 3 sets.	
Bandia misri (sugar in boxes).	per box, weighing one pond.	4	5 to 6	4 boxes - -	Used only in medicine, or by rich men here, but immense con- sumption at Bokhara.
Kund (loaf sugar) - -	per pond - - - -	4	5 to 6		
Mim chulta (white wax) -	ditto - - - -	1	1½	10 to 15 ponds	
Gulia (coral) - -	per kimoka, of 22 lota	price according to size; profit, 50 per cent.		20 to 30 kimoka	
Mora (glass beads of sizes)	per three bundles -	1	1½		
Saz faringe (musical boxes)	- - From 20 to 60 tillas, according to size and finish.				

No. II.—CHINESE GOODS brought from Bokhara.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT BOKHARA.	PRICE AT KOONDooZ.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
Tea; viz. Rismi (common tea) -	1 bundle called do- neem seer, 400 tola of 4½ nusculs each.	<i>Tillas.</i> 3½	<i>Tillas.</i> 4	300 bundles.	
Chirchuk (coarse) - -	per ditto - - - -	2½	3 to 3½	300 ditto.	
A Konch (better kind) -	per ditto - - - -	3 to 3½	4 to 4½	20 ditto.	
Zerucha (fine green) -	per ditto - - - -	7	8½	8 or 9 ditto.	
Banca (second sort) - -	per ditto - - - -	10	11 to 12	for 2 ditto.	
Banca (first sort) - -	in box of 100 toli -	5	- - -	- - -	brought for Meer.
Kuzzil Kayhiz - - -	in papers of 20 toli -	3½	4 rupees	100 papers.	
Huzm-i-ithan - - -	- ditto - of 20 toli -	1	rarely comes here.	- - -	
Khumpt silt, stuff - -	per piece of 16 alcheen by 1 width.	6	7 to 8	10 to 12 pieces	
Fawur ditto, with flowers	per ditto - - - -	5½	7	10 to 12 ditto	} now out of fashion.
Amloom, silk stuff - -	per ditto - - - -	6 to 6½	7½	5 to 6 ditto	
Lingsee - ditto - - -	per piece of 8 alcheen	½	¾	10 to 12 ditto	used by women.
China cups - - - -	- - - -	12 to 18 for 1	8 to 12 for 1	2 or 3 loads.	
China dishes - - - -	- - - -	8 to 9 for 1	6 for 1	100 to 150.	
Lumbos - - - -	- - stamped silver ingots.				

No. III.—Goods of *Bokhara*.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT BOKHARA.	PRICE AT KOONDOOZ.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
Istop (silk stuff); viz.		<i>Tillas.</i>	<i>Tillas.</i>		
Sulink - - - -	per pair each piece 6 guz. and 2 pieces, making 1 dress.	1	1½	100 mule loads	Numerous specimen are sent; there is mixture of cotton i all.
Sungin - - - -	per ditto - - -	5 rupees	1½	50 ditto.	
Kurchi - - - -	per ditto - - -	3 ditto	1 rupee	80 ditto.	
Alcheen bur, double width	per ditto - - -	1	7½ rupees	- - -	A new invention, printer only on one side; 15 pieces came; all sold
Putminy - - - -	per pair - - -	3½ rupees	4½ rupees	25 loads.	
Soyah - - - -	per pair - - -	3½ rupees	1	100 pairs.	
Roomal Bokhara, large silk handkerchiefs.	per bukcha or bundle of 5 handkerchiefs.	4	5½	100 bukcha	Used by women; there are other patterns, but all black ground, with large green, red, and yellow flowers, or borders.
Purjai, small - -	per ditto of 50 ditto -	2½	4	100 ditto	
Another sort - -	per ditto of 48 ditto -	3½	5	2,000 ditto	
Another sort - -	per ditto of 17 ditto -	2½	3½	1,000 ditto	
Bekumil (silk and cotton)	per score each piece, 8 alchees.	3½	4½	100 loads.	
Ditto - kokani - -	per pair - - -	8 tunga	3½ rupees	20 ditto.	
Begri Bokhara - -	per score - - -	2	3	9 ditto.	
Khara, dustani for turbans	per ditto - - -	3½	4½	40 ditto.	
Alacha rispani, striped cot- ton.	per ditto, 1 piece = 4 kolcha.	2	2½	70 ditto -	Various specimens sent.
Ditto (siah kahar) - -	per ditto - - -	3½	4½	20 ditto.	
Chelka Bokhara, native chintz.	per ditto, 1 piece = 8 kolach.	2	3	9 ditto.	
Khasa Bokhara, coarse white cloth.	per piece of 8 alcheens each.	30 for 1	21 for 1	5 ditto -	For grave cloths.
Parl pusha - - - -	per pair - - -	6 tunga	2½ rupees	40 ditto.	

No. IV.—Goods brought from *Cabool*.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT CABOOL.	PRICE AT KOONDOOZ.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
Nil indigo - - - -	per mun - - -	<i>Tillas.</i> 19	<i>Tillas.</i> 22 to 24	400 mun.	Lieutenant Leech has already sent all the necessary specimens from the Cabool Ba- zaar; I therefore send none.
Cloths:					
Chint Multan, Multan chintz, various patterns and co- lours.	per score each piece, 8 guz.	3½	5	20 to 25 loads.	
Chint gulnad feringi -	per piece of 25 guz. -	3½	4½	1 load.	
Khasa halgul, flowered cot- ton of Punjab.	per score each piece, 10 guz.	17½	12	60 ditto.	
Basta Peshawuri - -	per score pieces = 8 guz.	2½	4	10 ditto.	
Nimsen, coarse cloth of Peshawur.	per score pieces = 8 guz.	4½	6½	32 ditto.	
Dustar nishaperi, common white turbans.	per score - - -	6	11	17 ditto.	
Jumdan Multan, flowered turbans.	each - - -	2½ rupees	3½ rupees	10 ditto.	
Somyee Multani - -	per score - - -	3½	5	9 ditto.	
Chint jeynuggur, printed celico.	per score pieces = 8 guz.	9	16	3 ditto.	
Shutmun turbans - -	- ditto - ditto -	9	17	2 ditto.	
Chint feringi - - -	per piece = 25 guz. -	1½	2	19 ditto.	
Hyder shai, coarse cloth of Multan.	per score pieces = 8 guz.	1½	2½	16 ditto.	
Chint mfrany feringi, striped chintz.	per piece = 25 guz. -	¾	1½	9 ditto.	
Chint kubuli - - -	per score piece = 6 guz.	3	5	12 ditto.	
Kiriana; viz., Drugs, Dye Stuffs and Spices, Gro- ceries, &c.:		<i>Cabool Rupees.</i>	<i>Koondooz Rupees.</i>	- - -	The relative value of Cabool and Koondooz rupees will be found in the money table.
Zind choba (turmeric) -	per mun - - -	12	16	2 loads.	
Zungibil (preserved ginger)	per chanok - - -	2½	3½	2 ditto.	
Sant (dry ginger) - -	per seer - - -	5	6	3 ditto.	

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No. IV.—Goods brought from *Cabool*—continued.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE AT CABOOL.	PRICE AT KOOND00Z.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
<i>Kiriana—continued.</i>		<i>Cabool Rupees.</i>	<i>Koondooz Rupees.</i>		
Khund (soft sugar) - -	per seer - - -	3½	5½	100 loads	} Partly in transit to Khooleen and Bokhara.
Misri (coarse sugar from Umritsir). - -	per mun - - -	38	40	100 ditto	
Afrime (opium) - -	per khoord - - -	—½	1	4 seers.	Partly in transit.
Mucha (black pepper) -	per mun - - -	28	42	100 loads	
Pilkuri (alum) - -	per mun - - -	11½	16	3 ditto.	used in killing vermin, &c.
Sunkiah Arsenic, viz., white oxide, yellow sulphuret.	10½ toli - - -	1	1	3 mun.	
Shringruf (cinnabar) -	per toli - - -	6 for 1	4 for 1	1 ditto.	
Murdar Sinig (litharge of lead). - -	per toli - - -	20 for 1	20 for 1	2 seers.	
Ruskapur (oxymuriate of mercury). - -	per toli - - -	5 for 1	5 for 1	2 mun.	
Kusturi (musk) - -	per nukhad - - -	2 for 1	2 for 1	30 muskals.	
Keysur (saffron) - -	per toli - - -	4 for 1	2 for 1	10 toli.	
Jayaphul (nutmeg) - -	per toli - - -	11 for 1	10 for 1	1,000	
Chundur (sandal wood) -	per toli - - -	50 for 1	20 for 1	4 seers.	
Illachi Niki (bitter carda- mums). - -	per toli - - -	8 for 1	6 for 1	1 mun.	
Kuchla (nux vomica) -	per toli - - -	7 for 1	7 for 1	4 ditto.	
Kuchur (cuncuma reelinata)	per seer - - -	2½	3½	1 load.	
Nunalgota (croton tighi seeds)	per khond - - -	1	1	2 ditto.	
Kumbela - - -	per toli - - -	120 for 1	100 for 1	1½ mun.	
Umruipuli - - -	per pao - - -	3 for 1	2 for 1	3 ditto.	
Hust gund - - -	per chanuk - - -	2 for 1	2 for 1	9 ditto.	

No. V.—NATIVE MANUFACTURES and PRODUCE.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
Alachá, striped cotton cloth of various patterns, viz.:		<i>Koondooz Rs.</i>		
Khonabad, No. 1 - - -	per pair - - -	1	20 loads	The estimate of the con- sumption is necessarily very rough. No tax is taken, and no account kept. Each pair of pieces making one choga, the price shows the expense of a dress of native manu- facture.
No. 2 - - -	each piece - - -	1½	5 "	
No. 3 - - -	8 aleheen - - -	3	5 "	
No. 4 - - -	- - -	2½	4 "	
No. 5 - - -	- - -	3	3 "	
No. 6 - - -	- - -	2	6 "	
No. 7 - - -	- - -	1½	8 "	
No. 8 - - -	- - -	2	5 "	
No. 9 - - -	- - -	1½	8 "	
No. 10 - - -	- - -	2	6 "	
No. 11 - - -	- - -	2	8 "	
No. 12 - - -	- - -	2	5 "	
No. 13 - - -	- - -	2½	4 "	
No. 14 - - -	- - -	2½	4 "	
No. 15 - - -	- - -	2½	6 "	
No. 16 - - -	- - -	2½	8 "	
No. 17 - - -	- - -	1½	3 "	
No. 18 - - -	- - -	2½	5 "	
No. 19 - - -	- - -	1½	6 "	
Kurhas, white cotton cloth -	per dress of 6 kolach. - - -	—½	40 "	No estimate of the consumption of these articles.
Alreshur, raw silk, or gau zino	per 100 tola of 47 muskals each. -	8		
Thebut (hair of shawl goat) -	per seer - - -	3-3½		
Buzi (hair of common goat) -	ditto - - -	2-3 for 1		
Gosfundi (wool) - - -	ditto - - -	2½ for 1		
Purhm-i-shutur (camel's hair)	ditto - - -	2 for 1		
Pistachios, per mun - - -	3 - - -	- - -		
Buzgunje (gall nut of pistachio)	per mun - - -	2½-3		
Ispuruk, agcousta, dyas yellow	ditto - - -	3½-1		
Cotton, in pods - - -	per seer - - -	4 for 1		
Til (oil seed) (rusbisina saliva)	per mun - - -	1		
Ulsi (linseed) - - -	per seer - - -	7 for 1		
Kunjara (oil cake) - - -	per mun - - -	2½ for 1		
Til (lamp oil) - - -	per seer - - -	2½ for 1		

No. V.—NATIVE MANUFACTURES, &c.—continued.

NAME AND DESCRIPTION.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE.	YEARLY CONSUMPTION.	REMARKS.
		<i>Koondooz Rs.</i>		
Wheat	18 seers	1		
Jao	21 "	1		
Rice	1 mun	1½		
Flour	1½ "	1		
Moong	1½ "	1		
Kingri (oil plant)	2 "	1		
Juwari	2 "	1		
Roghun-i-zind (glue)	1½ seers	1		
Firewood	4 loads	1		
Charcoal	1 jowal or bag	6 pice		
Furs:				
Suglabi otter	per skin	9		
Ilderi	"	4½		
Palmog (leopard)	"	2		
Dulah	"	1½		
Robah (fox)	"	8½		
Kura kolah	"	3		
Shighal phael	"	2		
Kuruch	"	½		
Kurghooz	"	4 to 6 pice		
Mulool	"	3 pice		
Samancha	"	6 pice		
Mura nurh	"	5 pice		
Fruit, viz.:				
Peaches, apricots, mulberries, almonds, walnuts, grapes, apples, pistachios, pears, melons, water melons, vegetables, turnips, cabbage, carrots, parsnips, rufecole, pumpkins, gourds, cucumbers.				

No estimate of the consumption of these articles.

No. VI.—EXPORTS TO BOKHARA AND CABOOL.

To Bokhara go slaves, sheep, furs.

To Cabool go gold, silk, sheep, horses, dyestuffs, fruits.

The following are the only returns I have been able to procure, and they do not assume to be very accurate.

EXPORTS FROM KOONDODZ TO CABOOL.

NAME.	HOW SOLD.	PRICE HERE.	PRICE AT CABOOL.	QUANTITY SENT.
		<i>Koondooz Rs.</i>	<i>Cabool Rs.</i>	
Silk (organ zinc)	Per seer of 100 toli	8	20 to 30	20 loads
Pistachio	Per mun	2½	13	500 "
Buzgunje	ditto	6½	18	1,000 "
Ispunak	ditto	1	8	1,000 "

From Khooloom it is said quantities of the same articles are sent: the year before last it exported 2,000 tabruza mun of raw silk, 2,000 loads of ispuruk, 1,000 of buzgunje, 900 of pistachio, and a large quantity of pistachios. The prices of these articles are said to be much higher there than here. The prices as given here, I have verified.

BASIS OF KUNDODZ.
MONIES, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

METAL.	COIN.	EXCHANGE.	APPROXIMATE VALUE IN ENGLISH MONIES.	REMARKS.
Gold	Tilla	1 tilla = 100 toli	5 shillings	Varies from 4½ to 5 shillings.
Silver	Rupia	1 rupia = 100 toli	2 shillings	
Copper	Tanga	1 tanga = 100 toli	1 penny	
	Dice or pal	1 dice or pal = 100 toli	1 penny	

• At present 100 toli = 100 pice, and 100 pice = 100 toli.

